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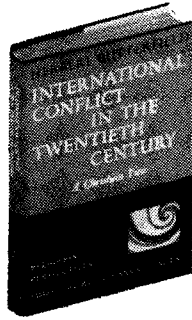
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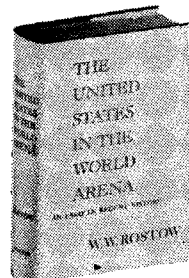
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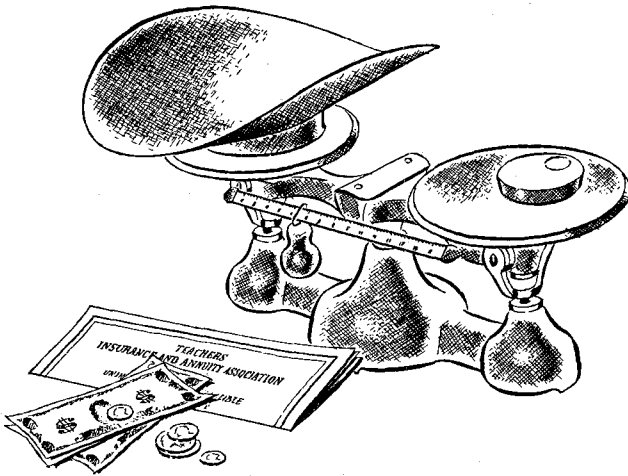
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# The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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July, 1960

## Republican Strategy and the Farm Vote in the Presidential Campaign of 1896

GILBERT C. FITE\*

DESPITE the importance of the presidential campaign of 1896, it has not thus far drawn the attention of historians commensurate with its significance. The campaign still awaits a major book-length published study.<sup>1</sup>

\* Mr. Fite, research professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, is interested primarily in recent American and American economic history. He is the author of *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity* (Norman, Okla., 1954). The University of Oklahoma Faculty Research Committee gave some research assistance in the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> A doctoral dissertation has been written by Marian Silveus on "The Antecedents of the Campaign of 1896," University of Wisconsin, 1932; and Joseph Schafer, Jr., has made a full study of the campaign and election in "The Presidential Election of 1896," doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1941. Many writers have relied heavily upon Schafer's study in their discussion of the campaign. For other accounts, see Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work* (New York, 1912), Chaps. xv, xvi; Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), 148-65; J. C. Long, *Bryan, The Great Commoner* (New York, 1928), Chaps. v, vi; M. R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York, 1929), Chap. iii; Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader, William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1929), Chap. xiv; Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890-1900* (New York, 1959), Chap. ix. One of the best brief discussions of the election is to be found in Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York, 1957), 313-20. Margaret Leech adds nothing new to the subject in her *In the Days of McKinley* (New York, 1959).

Although not all aspects of the election have been neglected, the role and position of farmers in this important contest have been almost completely overlooked except for some rather loose and unsupported generalizations. Historians have tended to equate the agricultural issue almost exclusively with free silver, partly no doubt because William Jennings Bryan placed the whole farm question in this context. Bryan attempted to tie practically all of the farmers' woes to an inadequate financial and monetary system, and made his major appeal to farmers on this proposition.

During the campaign neither Bryan nor McKinley came to grips with the basic problems facing farmers in the late nineteenth century. A survey of their campaign speeches reveals that, for the most part, both candidates resorted to platitudinous generalities when discussing agricultural questions. In his acceptance speech Bryan declared that "farmers are opposed to the gold standard because they have felt its effects. Since they sell at wholesale and buy at retail they have lost more than they have gained by falling prices, and, besides this, they have found that certain fixed charges have not fallen at all."<sup>2</sup> Bryan seemed to catch a glimpse of the farmer's weak and unfair bargaining position with other major elements in the economy. This was, indeed, one of agriculture's most serious problems, but the Democratic candidate gave no indication that he really understood the full implications of the question he had raised. Bryan confined most of his oratory to the very narrow theme that farm prices had declined along with the drop in silver prices, and that free silver would raise prices, relieve debtors, and restore prosperity to the great farming community. Bryan virtually ignored the effect on prices of vast increases in agricultural production caused by expanded acreage, improved plants and breeds of livestock, and the marvelous advances in farm mechanization. Furthermore, the growing competition in world markets provided by foreign agricultural producers received scarcely a passing nod from the Nebraskan. In October Bryan seemed no nearer to a serious discussion of farm problems than he had been in August. At Sioux City, Iowa, in the heart of the western farm country, he discussed the issues relating to agriculture in only the most general terms and again centered his address around the money question.<sup>3</sup>

Official Democratic explanations of low farm prices were always tied to the appreciating value of gold. One of the best statements of the relationship between free silver and agricultural prices was presented by Wharton Barker, publisher of *The American*, a Philadelphia weekly. Barker devoted

<sup>2</sup> *Champaign (Illinois) Daily News*, Aug. 13, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Algona (Iowa) Courier*, Oct. 16, 1896.

four chapters to this subject in his book *Bimetallism: or, The Evils of Gold Monometallism and the Benefits of Bimetallism*. He lashed out at the idea that falling farm prices had been due to excessive production, and declared that "the fall in prices cannot be stopped until the divergence in the price of gold and silver is checked." The "appreciation of gold, the lengthening of the monetary yardstick," he said, was the principal source of agricultural difficulties.<sup>4</sup> Gold was the villain, and, according to Democratic orators, only free and unlimited coinage of silver would bring relief to depressed farmers.

Despite the rather narrow approach that Democrats took in explaining the source of farm difficulties, the Democratic appeal was nevertheless very enticing to a great many debt-ridden agriculturalists. The idea of being able to pay off debts with cheaper dollars was a practical benefit and an exciting prospect to hundreds of thousands of farmers struggling to make financial ends meet. Goaded by hard times and lured by the persuasive oratory of Bryan and the ideas that he preached, there was real danger that a great number of rural voters on whom the Republicans ordinarily depended might forsake the party and vote the Democratic ticket. H. G. McMillan, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in Iowa, wrote that in mid-August the situation in his state "really looked threatening." He explained "that a large percent of our republican farmers were inclined to adopt free silver as a remedy for the present hard times," and that in many counties "the free silver craze had taken the form of an epidemic." McMillan declared further that the party's own polls had shown 20 to 25 per cent of Iowa Republican farmers favoring free silver.<sup>5</sup> It was this situation that confronted Republican campaigners who recognized the importance of carrying the midwestern farm vote if they expected to win the presidential election.

The Republicans dared not admit that there was any relationship between the gold standard and low prices for farm products. Neither could the Republican high command very well argue that farmers were not suffering great hardship. Evidence of low prices, increasing tenancy, foreclosures, and outright poverty was too overwhelming, at least in many areas, to be explained away by any optimistic pronouncements by party faithfuls. Consequently, Republican strategists sought to explain agricultural conditions in other terms and to show that farm prices were not connected with a particu-

<sup>4</sup> Wharton Barker, *Bimetallism: or, The Evils of Gold Monometallism and the Benefits of Bimetallism* (Philadelphia, 1896), 43-69.

<sup>5</sup> H. G. McMillan to J. S. Clarkson, Sept. 5, 1896, Clarkson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.



lar monetary standard. In trying to explain the causes of low prices and at the same time to defend the gold standard, Republican campaigners emphasized that farmers suffered from domestic overproduction and foreign competition. This became a major theme in the campaign and was probably the first presidential canvass in which surplus agricultural production was brought to public attention. Even though Republicans did not often use the term "surplus" in 1896, words like "overproduction" and "oversupply" became a common part of their campaign vocabulary. In other words, Republicans argued vigorously that free silver would not help farmers because it did not strike at the heart of the agricultural problem, namely surplus output and lack of demand. The Republicans, moreover, capitalized on the idea that prices were determined solely by the law of supply and demand, an almost sacred economic principle to many Americans in the late nineteenth century.

In an attempt to divert farm attention from the silver question, the Republicans conducted a well-planned propaganda effort throughout the campaign to explain low farm prices in terms of overproduction and limited demand. McKinley explained farm troubles by telling a visiting labor delegation that "the price of wheat is fixed by the law of supply and demand, which is eternal. Gold has not made long crops or short crops, high prices or low prices. Gold has not opened up the wheat fields of Russia, India, or the Argentine Republic, nor will free silver in the United States destroy them."<sup>6</sup> Surplus production at home and expanded output abroad were the main causes of low prices, according to the "Sage of Canton." As will be shown in more detail later, McKinley also stressed the advantage of increasing domestic markets for farm produce by raising tariff rates to protect both farmers and manufacturers.

These themes were showered upon voters in all kinds of Republican publicity, including the party's tremendous pamphleteering activities. One pamphlet entitled *A Farmer's Letter on the Silver Question*, published at St. Paul, contained materials purportedly written by a Red River Valley farmer in North Dakota to his brother in Nebraska. The writer, who had supposedly flirted with the Populists before his wedding to the Republicans, said there was absolutely no relation between the silver issue and farm prices. The trouble, he said, was that American farmers were producing too much wheat, corn, and oats. Following a brief mention of foreign competition, the writer concluded, "I don't see how any amount of silver coined

<sup>6</sup> McKinley's *Speeches in September*, comp. Joseph P. Smith (Canton, Ohio, 1896), 186.

at our mints is going to stop those fellows raising wheat and shipping it to Liverpool. Do you?"<sup>7</sup>

A leaflet, *Cotton and the Currency*, distributed throughout the South, carried the argument that low prices "in the past few years have been due almost solely to overproduction."<sup>8</sup> Other pamphlets aimed specifically at farmers and given wide distribution included John M. Nelson's *Why the Farmer Cannot Afford to Vote for Free Coinage of Silver and Dollars, or What?* by W. B. Mitchell of Chattanooga, Tennessee. There was no relation between the fall of silver prices and the decline of farm prices, Nelson asserted. He maintained further that the drop of farm prices after 1892 was due to overproduction "and the disturbed state of our finances produced by the continued free silver agitation."<sup>9</sup> Mitchell told his farm readers that there was no mystery about the low price of wheat. Expanded domestic and foreign production had glutted the markets and driven prices to unprofitable levels, a situation that had nothing to do with the silver question.<sup>10</sup>

Gold standard advocates, including writers for the business press, metropolitan newspaper editors, farm journals, and small-town weeklies all used the surplus production argument. They attempted to show that the demonetization of silver and subsequent falling silver prices had not been responsible, as Bryan claimed, for declining farm prices. The presentation of this viewpoint was so widespread that there must have been very few voters who were not exposed to it. The *New York Times*, for example, declared editorially on July 17 that "the Nation is benefitted by bountiful crops. But farmers should not shut their eyes to the effect of the law of supply and demand upon the prices of their products. The fall in prices of corn, potatoes and oats, for example, has been caused almost exclusively by the extra-ordinary supply of these products last year." The writer continued that this condition "was not due to the 'demonetization' of silver or the maintenance of the gold standard. And if the prices of the same products shall continue to be low after this year's harvest, the agriculturalist should look to another great output for the reasonable explanation." A few weeks later Bryan touched upon the surplus question in an address to some farmers in New York State. Speaking of price rises and declines, he observed that "the law of supply and demand reaches and controls all sorts of property."<sup>11</sup> This admission by Bryan brought ridi-

<sup>7</sup> There is an excellent collection of campaign pamphlets in Widener Library, Harvard University. The pamphlets cited are located there. *A Farmer's Letter on the Silver Question* n.p., n.d. [1896]).

<sup>8</sup> *Cotton and the Currency* (n.p., n.d. [1896]).

<sup>9</sup> John M. Nelson, *Why the Farmer Cannot Afford to Vote for Free Coinage of Silver* (Baltimore, Md., 1896), 5.

<sup>10</sup> W. B. Mitchell, *Dollars, or What?* (Chattanooga, Tenn., 1896).

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1896.

culc from the editor of the *New York Times*. How, he asked, could Bryan blame falling farm prices on the gold standard in face of this statement?<sup>12</sup>

On September 5 Carl Schurz spoke in Chicago before the American Honest Money League and, while he devoted most of his talk to the currency question, Schurz tried to show that demonetization of silver had not depressed agricultural prices. He explained to his audience that farm prices had been reasonably good in the late 1870's and early 1880's after the so-called "crime of 1873." If the demonetization of silver had not affected farm prices immediately, how could it do so twenty years later, he asked?<sup>13</sup> During September and October the militantly antifree silver *New York Tribune* also editorialized on the subject of agricultural supply and demand. After discussing some of the recent market trends for wheat, the editor contended that everyone knew "except the silver fanatics, that the price of wheat is controlled by the world's demand and supply, and has at no time in the last twenty years been seriously affected by changes in the price of silver."<sup>14</sup> When wheat prices advanced in October Alexander E. Orr, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, said that it was "not a fictitious, unreal or forced rise. It is the legitimate result of the operation of the law of supply and demand. Our wheat is simply wanted for exportation."<sup>15</sup>

The *Chicago Daily Tribune* outdid the New York press in attacking Bryan's contention that demonetization of silver in 1873 had started the downward decline of farm prices. This was a rank "falsehood," declared the editor.<sup>16</sup> Writing on "Why Wheat Is Cheaper," a short time later, the *Tribune* maintained "that the price is low because production has increased so much and so rapidly that it has outgrown consumption." After showing how population increases had not kept pace with wheat production, the writer proclaimed that "supply and demand and the cost of production have regulated the price of wheat. The decline in the price of silver has had no influence whatever." The act of 1873 could have had no effect on wheat prices, he concluded, because "the price of each [silver and wheat] has been governed by the one general law of supply and demand."<sup>17</sup> Throughout October the *Chicago Daily Tribune's* editorial pages were peppered with explanations and arguments designed to show that supply and demand, not monetary policies, were responsible for determining farm prices.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *New York Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1896.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1896.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1896.

<sup>16</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1896.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1896.

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 7, 12, 19, 20, 25, 30, 1896.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* was among other voices of midwestern Republicanism that carried the overproduction message to its readers. An editorial of October 9 claimed that the free silver craze was losing ground among farmers because they had come to realize their trouble "is the lack of demand equal to the supply in their line of production." Referring especially to wheat prices, the editor later declared that he could not see how the illusion had ever developed that any relation existed between the prices of silver and wheat. "Of course," he said, "the changes in supply and demand are what causes the fluctuations in wheat."<sup>19</sup> On October 5 the Portland *Morning Oregonian* added its voice to the overproduction chorus. "Price of wheat has been low for some time," said the editor, "because supply exceeded demand."

Sections of the business press advanced similar arguments to prove that farmers would not benefit from free silver. Writing in *The Bankers' Magazine*, Henry L. Nelson explained to his gold standard readers that there was no relationship between the amount of money in circulation and the price of agricultural crops. The price of wheat was low, he argued, because Argentina, Russia, and India were producing more abundant supplies which competed with American grain in world markets. Moreover, he said, American wheat acreage and production had greatly expanded in recent years, thereby causing lower prices. Nelson tried to nail down what he considered the fallacy that lack of circulating medium was responsible for low prices by pointing out that there was more money in circulation per capita in 1895 than in 1873 before the demonetization of silver.<sup>20</sup>

In an editorial entitled "Wheat, Silver and Elections," *The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* of New York asserted that "wheat is not a subject of legislation; it is marketed abroad, and free coinage in full operation would not change its foreign price."<sup>21</sup> On October 23 the same paper declared that "the relation of supply to demand is the sole regulator of values," and carried an editorial labeled "Surplus Wheat." The writer of the editorial discussed at considerable length problems of exports, domestic per capita consumption, stocks on hand, and other matters, and implied that heavy production was mainly responsible for low prices.<sup>22</sup>

It could be argued that very few farmers ever read the business press or the metropolitan dailies. These same arguments, however, reached rural readers through farm journals and the small-town dailies and weeklies. On

<sup>19</sup> St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 21, 1896.

<sup>20</sup> Henry L. Nelson, "The Farmers and the Silver Movement," *The Bankers' Magazine*, LIII (Sept. 1896), 330-34.

<sup>21</sup> *The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, Oct. 15, 1896.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1896.

October 1 *The Western Agriculturalist and Live Stock Journal* editorialized that when the United States produced less hogs, cattle, wheat, and corn, and when manufacturers were prosperous, the prices of these and other agricultural commodities were good. But, continued the editor, when domestic production exceeded consumption, American producers had to meet competition from Russia, South America, and Australia in the foreign markets. Increased domestic and foreign production lowered the world price which in turn depressed prices at home. The consensus at a recent agricultural conference in Berlin, said the writer, was that "farm products are cheaper because there are more countries which grow them to sell."<sup>23</sup> In this same issue the editor explained that the *Journal* had taken no part in partisan politics for a quarter of a century, but "when the interests, integrity and principles of our country" were at stake, readers must be urged to "stand by the Nation's honor. . . ." Since the commercial and business interests were opposed to free silver, the writer held that to harm manufacturers and merchants would be to "bring ruin to the farmer by destroying his home market." Moreover, he said, "the interests of the farmers, the merchants and manufacturers are identical." To clinch his argument, the writer declared that after all "supply and demand regulate the prices in all the world's markets. . . ." "Wheat," he concluded, "is advancing because the supply is less than the demand."<sup>24</sup>

Some other farm journals were even more emphatic in denouncing the free silver mania among farmers. The *Illinois Farm and Fireside*, published in Chicago, ran a page-one editorial on October 15 showing the annual average prices of silver, wheat, and corn from 1868 to 1895. Following the statistical data, the writer triumphantly declared that "we know of no more clear illustration of the fallacy of the assumption that there is any direct relation between silver and wheat in the movement of prices."<sup>25</sup> Just before voters went to the polls, another front-page article carried the message that "under natural working of the law of supply and demand the price of wheat has been bounding upward, and the prices of other commodities have followed in sympathy."<sup>26</sup> This was a vastly overoptimistic calculation on farm price trends, but it was what farmers were treated to on the eve of this crucial presidential election.

*Country Gentleman*, one of the nation's most widely read farm journals, did not give much attention to the election and its problems. It did, however, carry one strong article in an effort to show the effect of surpluses on farm

<sup>23</sup> *The Western Agriculturalist and Live Stock Journal*, XXVIII (Oct. 1, 1896), 291.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>25</sup> *Illinois Farm and Fireside*, XX (Oct. 15, 1896), 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* (Nov. 1, 1896), 1.

prices. A close examination of prices over a period of fifteen years prior to the depression of 1893 did not, said the editor, "show any marked tendency to decline beyond the usual and inevitable influence of supply and demand." Then he analyzed figures on the production and prices of corn, wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes for 1878, 1891, and 1892. By using figures on wheat for 1891 he was able to show how a large wheat crop, with a heavy surplus from 1890, could depress prices in the following year, 1892. Prior to 1893, the author concluded, "prices remained steady, except as influenced by changing volumes of production. . . ." <sup>27</sup> Even before the campaign got under way, the *Ohio Farmer* editorialized that "the price of wheat is governed by the laws of supply and demand alone." <sup>28</sup>

*The Orange Judd Farmer*, published at Chicago, and *The New England Homestead*, both owned by the Orange Judd Publishing Company, also maintained that it was the supply of a product that determined price and not the expansion or contraction of the currency. <sup>29</sup> Some farm papers like the *Iowa Homestead* and the *Prairie Farmer* completely avoided any discussion of farm problems and the presidential election. There is abundant evidence, however, that other agricultural journals played an important part in trying to discount any benefits that farmers might derive from free silver. An Iowa Republican leader said that his office had arranged for a series of articles in some farm papers "setting forth our side of the case." This special material was then sent to farmers known to favor free silver. <sup>30</sup> Whether this was done as a purposeful part of the Republican campaign or entirely unwittingly, the propaganda value to Republicans was the same.

Perhaps the most effective outlet for Republican campaign propaganda directed especially to farmers was the small weekly and semiweekly newspapers. In the Midwest and upper Plains states most of the newspapers were Republican organs, and they gladly printed whatever materials were supplied to them by the Republican National Committee. The western campaign headquarters in Chicago sent out specially prepared materials weekly, along with plates, and ready prints to country papers which had a weekly circulation of around 2,650,000. <sup>31</sup> Overworked rural editors fitted these "supplements" into their regular editions, and it was difficult for local readers to tell that the material was part of a well-organized and liberally financed propa-

<sup>27</sup> *Country Gentleman*, LXI (Sept. 10, 1896), 699.

<sup>28</sup> *Ohio Farmer*, LXXXIX (May 14, 1896), 420.

<sup>29</sup> See the editorial entitled "Supply, Demand and Prices," *The Orange Judd Farmer*, XXI (Oct. 10, 1896), 317; the same editorial appeared in *The New England Homestead*, XXXIII (Oct. 10, 1896), 317.

<sup>30</sup> H. G. McMillan to J. S. Clarkson, Sept. 5, 1896, Clarkson Papers.

<sup>31</sup> Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, 218. For an account of Republican distribution of pamphlets and other campaign literature, see Schafer, "The Presidential Election of 1896," 302-305.



ganda effort. The *Ogle County Press* and the *Byron Express*, for example, were only two among many small Illinois newspapers that carried supplements filled with such articles as "Figures for Farmers," "The Mortgaged Farm," "The Farmers' Friend," "Farmer's Egg Basket," and others.<sup>32</sup> Here were concentrated doses of propaganda aimed directly at farmers and designed to show that free silver was a false god set up by Democrats who already had brought depression and suffering to farmers.

Although the bulk of material put out by country newspapers was supplied from the outside, some rural editors made their own investigations and analyses of farm price trends and the silver question. The editor of *The Upper Des Moines*, published at Algona, Iowa, dug into his own files as a means of producing comparable price lists of certain commodities sold and bought by farmers between 1873 and 1892, "the year before President Cleveland came in with his program of radical legislation [lower tariff]." The writer concluded that, although farm prices had fallen some in the period, the price of merchandise bought by farmers had declined proportionately, thereby leaving the purchasing power of farm products at a fair level and farmers unharmed by the gold standard.<sup>33</sup>

The *Champaign* (Illinois) *Daily News*, published in an unusually rich farming area, declared that a Democratic victory would decrease business, increase unemployment, and cut domestic consumption. The heart of farm woes, the editor declared, was declining demand after 1892.<sup>34</sup> He added that a more false assertion had never been uttered than that prices dropped because of demonetization. An editorial in the *Danville* (Illinois) *Weekly News* on October 8 argued that there was sufficient money in the country but that it was inactive and being hoarded in fear of Bryan's election. "Defeat Mr. Bryan and money will come forth like bees in June and go to work," concluded the editor. A writer for the Sioux Falls, South Dakota, *Evening Argus-Leader* explained the fall of wheat and cotton prices exclusively in terms of surplus production. Free silver would not raise agricultural prices because "prices are fixed by demand and supply," said the Dakota editor.<sup>35</sup>

Despite this line of reasoning, Republicans were careful not to carry their argument to its logical conclusion. In other words, there was no suggestion that production be curtailed as a means of decreasing supply and raising prices. Republican writers and orators were conspicuously silent on any practical plans for bringing supply and demand into balance, thus solving the

<sup>32</sup> See the *Ogle County Press*, Aug. 22, 1896, and the *Byron Express*, Aug. 23, Oct. 9, 30, 1896.

<sup>33</sup> *The Upper Des Moines* (Algona, Iowa), Aug. 5, 28, Oct. 7, 1896.

<sup>34</sup> *Champaign* (Illinois) *Daily News*, Aug. 11, 1896.

<sup>35</sup> *Sioux Falls Evening Argus-Leader*, Oct. 3, 1896.

problem that they had raised; and the Democrats, overinvolved with the silver question, failed miserably to challenge the Republicans and force them to deal realistically with the farm surplus question.

Once having established the argument that farm prices were governed entirely by supply and demand rather than by any monetary ratio, Republicans jumped at the October price rises in wheat to clinch their position with farm voters. Reports of wheat shortages in India, Russia, and Australia caused a mild flurry in the Liverpool market and increased the foreign demand for United States wheat. This resulted in a rather sharp advance in domestic wheat prices during September and October. Part of the price rise was generated by a speculative boom which reached a high point on October 19 and 20 when the Chicago price reached 79¾ cents a bushel, or about twenty cents above what it had been when the campaign opened.<sup>36</sup> This situation, the Republicans argued, proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that they had been correct in their analysis of farm price problems. World supplies of wheat were down and demand abroad was up, causing American prices to rise under the law of supply and demand.

As wheat prices rose and silver prices remained the same, or even declined slightly, Republican editors had a field day. They cited this situation to prove their supply and demand arguments and maintained that prosperity was returning under the promise of a Republican administration. During October hundreds of editorials and feature articles appeared on the subject of "wheat and silver." Now, Republicans triumphantly asked, what about the Democratic contention that falling silver prices had been responsible for a drop in the prices of agricultural products? The Chicago *Daily Tribune* editorialized on October 3 that the rise in wheat prices had proven wrong the "frenzied oratory of the repudiators" who had argued that farm prices could not advance until a cheaper dollar was provided. The harsh economic facts of life, said the writer, had completely ruined the Democratic argument. "What has happened to this 'law,'" he asked, "under which silver and wheat must go arm and arm . . . ? What has so abruptly sundered this agricultural-mineral alliance? What agency has dared to separate those whom Altgeld and Bryan have joined together in the unholy bonds of rotten money." The editor concluded that the law of supply and demand had utterly crushed "this ridiculous pretense." Two days later another *Tribune* editorial explained that poor crops abroad had stimulated wheat prices which refused "to be tied to the apron strings of silver."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For stories on the wheat situation, see the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 3, 5, 12, 19, 20, 22, 1896.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1896.



Between early October and election day the editorial and news columns of the Chicago *Daily Tribune* featured this theme again and again. On October 19 a front-page story proclaimed that "Due to Wheat Rise, Free Coinage Arguments Receive Shock in Dakotas." The writer admitted that at one time the Democrats had about convinced Dakota farmers that demonetization of silver had been responsible for low farm prices. But now, he explained, wheat prices suddenly began to rise despite continued low market prices for silver. "The recent rise in the price of wheat has done more than all the campaign documents to convert the farmers. It has knocked the legs from under the silver agitators and calamity howlers." The next day the *Tribune* again argued that higher prices for wheat had made Bryan "ridiculous in the eyes of farmers of the wheat-raising states and his creed has lost the power to befuddle and deceive." Bryan's "whole lying fabric," he continued, "so laboriously and shrewdly woven has been torn in tatters. Wheat, depending exclusively as ever on the law of supply and demand, bearing no special relation to silver, suddenly jumped in price, leaving the Popocrats wallowing in the muddy ditch they had dug for themselves."<sup>38</sup>

In a number of discussions on "wheat and silver" and "wheat up, silver down," a writer for the New York *Tribune* declared that "commercial actualities" were "demolishing Populistic theories." Then he proceeded to point out that since July 9 silver had declined  $4\frac{3}{4}$  cents an ounce in New York while wheat had risen  $16\frac{3}{8}$  cents a bushel.<sup>39</sup> A later editorial contended that this situation completely refuted Bryan. "As the stars in their courses fought against Sisera, so the markets of the world, . . . seem enlisted in the fight against a falsehood."<sup>40</sup> Men of intelligence had long recognized the falsity of free silver arguments, the editor expounded, but some people could be "enlightened only by their own experience. To such people the rise in wheat this year comes as a revelation." Silver or silver prices had nothing to do with wheat prices, he concluded, because wheat went up when it was in scarce supply and for no other reason.<sup>41</sup>

Other metropolitan newspapers also focused attention on rising wheat prices: "Even the most confiding Populist must perceive that the recent upward movement in the grain market has not been brought about by free coinage or the promise of it. Silver has not shared in the advance as it should have done by the Populist theory," explained the editor of the Philadelphia *Ledger*.<sup>42</sup> A writer for the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* declared that advancing

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1896.

<sup>39</sup> New York *Tribune*, Oct. 14, 1896.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1896.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1896.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 2, 1896.

wheat prices and a decline in silver prices "gives the finishing stroke to the pretense that silver and wheat are yoked together and that a drop in the former is what has caused the drop in the latter." The recent price advance, he continued, "exposes the silver swindle, and will turn hundreds of thousands of farmers' votes in the Western States from Bryan to McKinley."<sup>43</sup> The New York *World* said that "wheat has become the greatest campaign orator in the land." Wheat prices, it was claimed, had spoken to more people "than even the ubiquitous and indefatigable Mr. Bryan. . . ." The "Boy Orator" had only brushed the auditory nerve while "the golden spellbinder of the farms [wheat] has touched the sensitive pocket nerve of his hearers."<sup>44</sup> The Portland *Morning Oregonian* labeled the rise in wheat prices and the decline of silver prices as "the greatest of all campaign arguments."<sup>45</sup> The different directions taken by wheat and silver prices "is a most unfortunate combination of circumstances, for Mr. Bryan" said the editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*.<sup>46</sup> "California wheat growers will take their profits and vote for McKinley" concluded a writer for the *Bulletin* a day later.<sup>47</sup>

Republicans extracted every last drop of political advantage out of this modest rise in the wheat market. Party propagandists were soon distributing a wheat and silver supplement to local newspapers, showing that the gold standard had not depressed wheat prices. A cartoon pictured Bryan tearing his hair as he watched two thermometers, one labeled wheat and the other silver. The indicator in the wheat thermometer was rising while that representing silver was showing a decline. The caption read: "Liars may figure, but figures won't lie."<sup>48</sup>

The business press also lent its support to the idea that there was no relation between farm and silver prices, and added its influence to the snowballing prosperity propaganda.<sup>49</sup> More important perhaps were the farm journals which carried optimistic reports on farm price trends to their rural readers.

<sup>43</sup> St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 21, 1896.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1896. See also "Wheat Advances, Silver Declines," *The Nation*, LXIII (Oct. 22, 1896), 302, and *Literary Digest*, XIII (Oct. 31, 1896), 836. The *Literary Digest* reprinted editorials from the Philadelphia *Ledger* and the Indianapolis *News* on this theme. The *Ledger* declared: "Farmers will observe that neither silver-men nor gold-men, politicians nor statesmen, had anything to do with the advance in prices, but that it came about in the ordinary course of trade."

<sup>45</sup> Portland *Morning Oregonian*, Oct. 21, 1896. See also the editorials in the issues of Oct. 10, 23, 1896.

<sup>46</sup> San Francisco *Bulletin*, Oct. 20, 1896. Other discussions of this subject appeared on Oct. 21, 22, 23, 1896.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1896.

<sup>48</sup> *The Upper Des Moines* (Algona, Iowa), Oct. 21, 1896.

<sup>49</sup> See Bradstreet's: *A Journal of Trade, Finance and Public Economy*, XXIV (Oct. 10, 1896), 643; *The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, Oct. 6, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 1896; *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXII (Oct. 17, 24, 1896), 722-23, 761-62.

The *Prairie Farmer*, for example, which avoided direct political activity, published prominent stories on October 10 and 24 dealing with the question of rising wheat prices. Although other crops had not shared in the advances made by wheat, the editor said, "the market is in a healthier tone and better prices will surely rule a little later on."<sup>50</sup> Under the heading "Better Prices All Along the Line," a writer for the *Prairie Farmer* quoted the Chicago *Times-Herald* to the effect that "nature is making money for Americans faster than any printing press could do it. Most of the chief farm products share in the advanced prices."<sup>51</sup> The *Orange Judd Farmer*, *Pacific Rural Press*, and *Breeder's Gazette* all carried articles in late September and October painting an optimistic picture of future farm prices.<sup>52</sup> On October 24 *The Orange Judd Farmer* quoted one central Illinois farmer as saying: "Too busy down here following the rise in prices to bother with the silver theory." And country newspapers added their voices to the growing chorus of returning prosperity for farmers.

Republicans, moreover, took advantage of figures provided by a Democratically controlled United States Department of Agriculture to refute the claims of Bryan's supporters that speculators rather than farmers were benefiting from the rise in wheat prices. McKinley campaigners gave far-reaching publicity to Secretary J. Sterling Morton's statement on farm profits which had presumably derived from advances in the wheat market. The Secretary announced on October 23 that farmers still held about 45 per cent of their 1896 wheat crop and would realize a gain of \$58,688,000 over that received if they had sold at prices prevailing on September 1.<sup>53</sup> Besides this, the Republican press gave front-page billing to an article by John Hyde, agricultural statistician for the eleventh census and employee of the Department of Agriculture, which carried statistical comparisons on the prices of wheat and silver from 1867 to 1895. Hyde showed that during big crop years at home, or heavy production abroad, prices of wheat tended to decline. He concluded: "In the face of such facts . . . it would surely be ridiculous to discuss seriously

<sup>50</sup> *Prairie Farmer*, LXVIII (Oct. 10, 24, 1896), 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* (Oct. 24, 1896), 3. See also *The Western Agriculturalist and Live Stock Journal*, XXVIII (Oct. 1, 1896), 296.

<sup>52</sup> *The Orange Judd Farmer*, XXI (Oct. 24, 31, 1896), 374, 390; *Pacific Rural Press*, LII (Oct. 17, 1896), 245; *Breeder's Gazette*, XXX (Sept. 30, Oct. 14, 21, 1896), 775, 777, 778.

<sup>53</sup> *New York Tribune*, Oct. 24, 1896. Secretary Morton wrote several personal letters in the summer and fall of 1896, contending that farm prices were determined solely by supply and demand. He opposed United States participation in an international agreement to fix the price of wheat. He declared: "It is not the business of the government to attempt, by statutes or international agreements, to override the fixed laws of economics, nor can government repeal, amend or mitigate the operation of those laws, chief among which declares that the relation of supply to demand is the sole regulator of value." Morton to Secretary of State, Nov. 5, 1896, Secretary's Files, Letterbook No. 18, National Archives.

the contention that it is the fall in the price of silver that has caused the fall in the price of wheat.”<sup>54</sup>

James A. Barnes has contended that growing agricultural prosperity just prior to the election was no reason for voters to desert Bryan and turn to McKinley.<sup>55</sup> While the evidence is overwhelming that times were not actually improving for farmers in the fall of 1896, except for the slight advance in wheat prices—some prices were actually lower than they had been in 1895—this ignores the possibility that agrarians may have thought that economic recovery was beginning. Voters do not necessarily act on what is true, but on what they think is true. The possibility should not be overlooked that the widespread and intense prosperity-is-coming campaign may have won a sizable number of farm voters, many of whom were traditionally Republican anyway, but who had temporarily deserted the party in protest against low prices and hard times. A number of competent observers believed that Bryan had considerably more political strength in September than he had on November 3 and that he might have been elected if the canvass had been six weeks earlier. If this is true, it gives credence to the effectiveness of the Republican campaign during October which held that no connection existed between farm markets and silver prices and that agricultural prosperity was near at hand if McKinley were elected. Just because there was no factual basis for this optimistic reporting on agricultural conditions, the theory should not be ruled out that many farmers may have decided to stay with McKinley and the Republican party in response to what was essentially false propaganda.

If the GOP explained to farm voters that overproduction and the law of supply and demand regulated the price of agricultural products, what constructive proposal could they offer which might help to raise prices and thereby assure farm confidence and support? To meet this challenge Republicans advanced the logical sounding home market argument which the party had inherited from Hamilton, Clay, and Blaine. A higher protective tariff for manufactures, it was claimed, would increase domestic demand and create higher prices for both food products and raw materials produced on American farms. The Republican campaign directed toward farmers now fit into a neat pattern. Low prices had resulted from excessive output which could not be consumed at profitable prices because business and industry were stagnant due to Democratic attacks upon the protective tariff.

To accept the idea that agriculture was dependent upon industrial prosperity required some adjustment in farm thinking. The foundation of Ameri-

<sup>54</sup> *New York Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1896.

<sup>55</sup> James A. Barnes, "Myths of the Bryan Campaign," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIV (Dec. 1947), 383-93.

can agrarian thought held that agriculture was the nation's basic industry and that other elements in the economy could not prosper if farmers were poor. Bryan stated the agrarian position most eloquently when he declared in his Cross of Gold speech: "You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country."<sup>56</sup> In an attempt to refute Republican claims in the campaign, he insisted that "the businessman depends for his prosperity upon the farmer and laborer. Farmers and laborers are the foundation of society and upon that broad and firm foundation is built the commercial fabric."<sup>57</sup>

As the campaign progressed, however, McKinley and other Republican leaders stressed the importance of restoring industrial prosperity through the protective tariff as a means of helping farmers. "Depression in agriculture always follows low tariff legislation," McKinley explained to a delegation of Knox County, Ohio, farmers early in the campaign. "The farmer is suffering today because the number of his competitors has increased and his best customers are out of work. We cannot decrease competition, but a restoration of the protection policy will give work to your customers. . . ." Then the Republican candidate concluded: "Free silver will not end over-production nor under-consumption. You don't get customers through the mint, you get them through the factory."<sup>58</sup> McKinley told another group on October 3: "You know that the country which has the fewest workshops has the least internal commerce the poorest farms and the least prosperous farmers."<sup>59</sup> Ten days later the Republican candidate explained to another delegation that the interests of agriculture and industry were closely interlocked, and that both "must in our country depend almost exclusively on the home market."<sup>60</sup> Always the implication was that industry suffered from the lack of sufficient protection, thereby reducing industrial purchasing power for farm commodities.

The same publicity outlets that supported the overproduction theory also stressed the home market argument. The *Champaign* (Illinois) *Daily News* editorialized early in the campaign that no permanent advance in wheat prices could be expected until "by the development of manufactures, the number of domestic consumers is increased to an extent that will require the

<sup>56</sup> *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan* (2 vols., New York, 1909), I, 248.

<sup>57</sup> *Galveston Daily News*, Oct. 11, 1896.

<sup>58</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1896.

<sup>59</sup> *New York Tribune*, Oct. 4, 1896.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1896.

home market for home consumption." If McKinley were elected, reasoned the editor, the time was not far distant when "the necessary protection" for American industries would be secured.<sup>61</sup> Six weeks later the same editor said that the farmer would be prosperous under McKinley because the American market would be restored to domestic producers.<sup>62</sup> Free silver, exclaimed a writer for *The Western Agriculturalist and Live Stock Journal*, would harm the capitalist and manufacturer which in turn would ruin "the farmer by destroying his home market."<sup>63</sup> The *San Francisco Bulletin* explained low farm prices during the previous three years in terms of "overproduction" and "by reason of the closing of American factories consequent upon Democratic tariff tinkering."<sup>64</sup> The editor of the *Portland Morning Oregonian* declared: "The claim that the tariff possesses no interest to the farmer is lamentably shortsighted. . . . A tariff law that closes our shops and factories and floods the country with idle men, reduces home consumption . . . , and, of course, reduces prices."<sup>65</sup> Such was the essence of the Republican campaign directed at farmers in the presidential election of 1896.

The results of the campaign show clearly that Republicans were successful in holding crucial elements of the farm vote. It is true, as has been so often pointed out, that Bryan lost heavily in the large cities, that he not only aroused the hostility of middle- and upper-class urbanites, but he failed to gain much labor support.<sup>66</sup> Since the city vote went against Bryan, it was all the more necessary for him to win a heavy farm vote in key states like Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa if he hoped ever to occupy the White House. Fortunately for the Republicans, Bryan and the Democrats failed to accomplish this important requirement for victory.

In Iowa Bryan carried only seventeen out of ninety-nine counties and the Republican majority totaled 65,000, twenty thousand more than the Republicans had even dared to predict privately in late September.<sup>67</sup> McKinley won such predominantly rural counties as Kossuth, Clay, and Sioux in the northern and northwestern part of the state by large majorities.<sup>68</sup> The Republicans

<sup>61</sup> *Champaign (Illinois) Daily News*, Aug. 6, 1896.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1896.

<sup>63</sup> *The Western Agriculturalist and Live Stock Journal*, XXVIII (Oct. 1, 1896), 296.

<sup>64</sup> *San Francisco Bulletin*, Oct. 20, 1896.

<sup>65</sup> *Portland Morning Oregonian*, Oct. 7, 1896.

<sup>66</sup> Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion*, 210. Schafer discusses labor and the Democrats in "The Presidential Election of 1896," 416-25. He shows that much of the leadership of organized labor backed Bryan, but that rank-and-file workingmen failed to support him in large numbers.

<sup>67</sup> W. M. Hahn to J. S. Clarkson, Sept. 30, 1896, Clarkson Papers. Hahn was chairman of the Republican Speakers Bureau at the Chicago headquarters and he predicted the Republicans would carry Iowa by a majority of 45,000.

<sup>68</sup> Edgar Eugene Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford, Calif., 1934), 192-200.



carried sixty-four counties in Minnesota compared to only seventeen for Bryan, gaining a popular majority of 53,772. Although McKinley was victorious in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties (Minneapolis and St. Paul) by a vote of 44,308 to 32,563, his percentage of victory in some of the farm counties was even greater. He carried Faribault and Freeborn Counties on the southern border of the state nearly three to one.<sup>69</sup> The situation in Illinois was much the same. The Republican majority there was 133,625, with Cook County providing 69,913 votes in the total victory margin. A heavy downstate farm vote was necessary to overcome this deficit. Again, however, Bryan failed. Important agricultural counties like Champaign, Piatt, Vermillion, McLean, Livingston, Ford, and others in the east central part of the state cast substantial majorities for the Republicans.<sup>70</sup> Even in Kansas and Nebraska McKinley ran well considering the degree of political unrest which was supposedly rampant there. McKinley lost by only 12,270 votes in Kansas, where he carried thirty-eight of the 105 counties, and lagged behind by only 11,943 votes in Bryan's home state.<sup>71</sup> The Republicans even managed to hold North Dakota in line.

It is evident that the Republicans were successful in capturing the farm vote in key states. Many small country towns, it is true, helped to swell McKinley's majority, but there is equal evidence to show that not nearly as many men and women on the farm were behind Bryan as he had hoped and imagined. A detailed examination of Kossuth County in north central Iowa will illustrate this point. McKinley carried the county by a vote of 2,930 to 1,861 for Bryan, or by a majority of 1,069. Algona, the county seat and the only town of any consequence in the county, gave McKinley a lead of 250 votes. Practically all of the remainder of his majority, over eight hundred votes, came from actual farmers in the strictly rural precincts.<sup>72</sup>

Analysis of other counties at the precinct level would be necessary to prove beyond a doubt how actual dirt farmers voted. Unfortunately, practically none of this type of research has been completed on the election of 1896, or, for that matter, on almost any other presidential election. One of the major research needs in political history is at the precinct level, where farm, small-town, and larger city votes could be separated and analyzed for voting behavior. Nonetheless, even the broad outlines of county voting in the election of 1896 indicate that Bryan failed to carry the farmers with him where he

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 234-44. Bryan carried only three counties in Wisconsin and lost the state by more than 100,000 votes. Republican victory in some predominantly farm counties was greater percentage-wise than in Milwaukee.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-85.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-208, 260-68.

<sup>72</sup> *The Upper Des Moines* (Algona, Iowa), Nov. 4, 1896.

needed them the most, in the Old Northwest and upper Mississippi Valley. Farmers in this region were more diversified, more prosperous, and much less likely to be attracted by Bryan's proposals. It was no achievement for Bryan to carry the southern farm vote, because farmers there had been voting the Democratic ticket for years, almost regardless of the issues at stake. If he hoped to win, Bryan was faced with the Herculean task of changing voter habits and loyalties in the Midwest. His success was limited largely to farmers in the western prairies and Great Plains, where periodic droughts and crop failures had combined with low prices to cause intense political irritation and discontent.

It should be emphasized that Bryan had a much more difficult task than McKinley. Outside of the Democratic South, Bryan had to convert traditionally Republican farmers to the Democratic cause and convince them to forsake their regular party allegiance. McKinley, on the other hand, had the much easier job of playing on Republican sympathies already held by most farmers in the North and West. The Populists had done a great deal to loosen party ties, but the Republican hold was still strong on farmers, as well as on other voters. That Bryan won as many farm votes as he did between Pittsburgh and Omaha is a tribute to his tremendous campaign and personal magnetism. But this was not enough. There were too many farmers like John A. Sanborn who lived near Franklin, Nebraska. He recorded in his diary on November 3, 1896: "Election day. Went after dinner to vote for Wm McKinley."<sup>73</sup>

Finally, the election of 1896 was not strictly an agrarian-industrial conflict as has been so often asserted.<sup>74</sup> To be sure, Bryan represented certain agricultural interests, especially the debtor groups, but by no means did he speak for all farmers or, in many states, even for a majority of them. If he had received an overwhelming farm vote between the Ohio and the Missouri Rivers, Bryan would have won the presidency. Failing to accomplish this, he lost the

<sup>73</sup> Diary of John A. Sanborn, Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska. The problem faced by Bryan in trying to reverse traditional voting patterns in key states can be seen in the fact that Ohio, Minnesota, and Iowa had voted Republican in every presidential election between the Civil War and 1896. Illinois and Wisconsin had voted Democratic only once, in 1892, during the same period. See W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, Md., 1955).

<sup>74</sup> Practically all writers on the campaign of 1896 have advanced this theme without proper qualifications or sufficient statistical evidence. The terms "rural" and "agrarian" have been used too loosely. We still lack, moreover, satisfactory evidence that many people who voted for Bryan were either anti-industry or proagriculture. Such factors as tradition, habit, local political candidates, and other conditions may, and probably did, influence many people to vote either Republican or Democratic. The standard source on urban and rural voting is William Diamond, "Urban and Rural Voting in 1896," *American Historical Review*, XLVI (Jan. 1941), 281-305. A task that still needs to be done before any definitive conclusions can be drawn is to segregate and analyze the actual farm vote. It is well known that voters in small towns and larger towns in rural areas do not necessarily vote like actual dirt farmers.



election. Hundreds of thousands of farmers were distrustful of Bryan and Democratic policies, and they trooped to the polls to vote loyally for McKinley whose party over the years and during the campaign had effectively sold itself to them.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Perhaps many people felt as Senator Peter Norbeck did when he later analyzed Bryan's defeat as follows: "He was a good fellow, a good citizen, a fairly good politician, and a man who did more good than harm. People liked him but did not have confidence in his judgment; they felt his heart might be right, but that his leadership was not safe." Peter Norbeck to Selma Norbeck, Feb. 15, 1926, Norbeck Papers, University of South Dakota.

# The Intelligentsia and the Religion of Humanity

JAMES H. BILLINGTON\*

SHORTLY before his death, Auguste Comte, regarded by many as the most rational and progressive thinker in Europe, amazed friend and foe alike by addressing two flattering letters to Czar Nicholas I of Russia, the recognized leader of reaction and obscurantism. Comte appealed to the Czar to be the first to accept his new "System of Positive Politics," insisting that Russia's very insulation gave it a unique potential for bypassing the atomized parliamentary stage of Western European development and adopting directly an integrating new religion of humanity. The incongruity of the situation was illustrated by the fact that the recipient had not yet even adopted the Gregorian calendar, while the sender had already overthrown it, dating his letters "19 Bichat 64" and "20 Archimedes 65."<sup>1</sup>

John Stuart Mill and most of Comte's early admirers viewed his appeal as a senile aberration not logically related to his earlier works. The Czar, for his part, seems to have paid no more attention to Comte than had the leaders of the Holy Alliance paid to the appeal addressed to them earlier by Comte's teacher, St.-Simon, in his last work, *The New Christianity*.<sup>2</sup> Yet, through the sobering perspectives of the past century, it may appear that there was a certain logic in the admiration of the founder of modern sociology for the autocrat's "wise firmness" in keeping his country free from "retrograde empiricism" and "Western agitation and anarchy."<sup>3</sup> Few will deny an element of

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<sup>1</sup> Comte's new calendar dated years from the French Revolution of 1789 and renamed months after famous beneficiaries to humanity from all ages and cultures, in this case a biologist and mathematician. In Gregorian translation the dates of the letters are December 20, 1852, and April 14, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Nouveau Christianisme* in *Oeuvres de St.-Simon et d'Enfantin* (47 vols., Paris, 1865-78), VII, 189-91. As with Comte, St.-Simon's desire was to avoid any disruption in establishing the new ideology through a select elite "in order that the spread of the new doctrine not lead the poor to acts of violence against the rich and governing." *Ibid.*, 179. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz had argued as early as 1708 that Peter the Great could place himself "easily above all the other princes, the more so in that his domain is still like a Tabula Rasa." V. I. Guerrier, *Sbornik Pisem i Memorialov Leibnitsa* (St. Petersburg, 1873), 76.

<sup>3</sup> Auguste Comte, *Système de politique positive* (4th ed., 4 vols., Paris, 1912), III, xlii, xxix, xliii, xlv. Comte's plea to replace God with humanity and an aristocracy of privilege with an aristocracy of talent was also addressed in abbreviated form to the grand vizier of the Ottoman

prophecy to Comte's perception that the maintenance of religion and social discipline in Russia made that country better equipped than any in Western Europe to transform society suddenly and in accord with rational "sociocratic" principles.

The idea that Russia's backwardness might actually aid her in overleaping the West and bypassing its present follies had been present at least since Iurii Krizhanich in the seventeenth century, and, among Russians themselves, at least since Peter Chaadaev in the early nineteenth. These early figures had conceived of the leap in terms of conversion to Catholicism. Comte's new system—sometimes called "Catholicism without Christianity"—was to provide a major source of inspiration for the later effort to effect such an advance made by those who followed Vissarion Belinskii in coming "from the blue heaven into the kitchen." Indeed, the rich profusion of social theories in Russia from the late sixties to the mid-eighties of the last century may be said to represent a belated response to Comte's appeal, not by the Czar and his entourage, but by that new and curiously modern class which came to be called the intelligentsia.

In considering this period through its most influential social theorists—P. L. Lavrov, N. V. Shelgunov, and above all N. K. Mikhailovskii—one feels drawn toward two conclusions: that these alienated urban intellectuals of late imperial Russia created something that can only be described as a new religion, one which took Russian thinkers further than those of any other European nation toward realizing Comte's late visionary hopes for a new religion of humanity; and that Mikhailovskii and his coreligionists anticipated in their myths, rituals, and slogans many of the forms and procedures of the new secular faith which would eventually become institutionalized by Soviet ideologists. If these conclusions be valid, the ideas and practices of this strange age of florid social theory may be said to have left, for better or worse, a more enduring legacy to Russia than either the private theories of earlier salon thinkers, however fascinating, or the public practices of later Duma politicians, however admirable.

The origins of this new secular faith should be sought neither in economic classes, though most believers were of the gentry like Mikhailovskii, nor in geographical factors, though many came from the Volga region and most settled like Mikhailovskii in St. Petersburg. Its origins lie closer to the social dislocations and the new influx of English rationalism in post-Crimean Russia. But the point of origin itself, that which gave the movement whatever

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Empire. See *ibid.*, xlvii-l. He also hoped at one point to detach the Jesuit order from the Roman Church and set it up under his aegis in Paris in the service of his new faith.

unity it possessed, was the almost physiological spasm of negation that swept through the young student generation in the five years between 1858 and 1863. Even though this half decade saw the tide of reform reach its highest point, the basic reaction was not gratitude, but increased discontent: unexplained fires, illegal proclamations, and student demonstrations. In these years young students substituted pictures of Rousseau for Orthodox medallions, wrote the words "liberty, equality, and fraternity" on crosses, and rhythmically sang out the slogan "*chelovek-cherviak*" (man is a worm) during theology lectures.<sup>4</sup> These were the years in which literary critics called for boots rather than Shakespeare, in which the word "timid" became attached to the word "liberal,"<sup>5</sup> and in which the best young painters and musicians rebelled at all conventions and left the conservatories en masse to form the so-called "wanderers" (*peredvizhniki*) and "handful" (*kuchkisty*) respectively.<sup>6</sup>

It was in an atmosphere of such dramatic developments that the distinctive institutions and beliefs of the new religion began to crystallize. The central institutions were the so-called "thick journals" and above all the bibliographical sections which were presided over by a special priestly caste of "littérateurs" and "publicists." Though Belinskii had used these terms previously,<sup>7</sup> they now became institutionalized to describe the theological functions which critics on these journals assumed and which made other professions seem dull and insignificant. Thus, when Mikhailovskii was expelled from the St. Petersburg Mining Institute for leading a student demonstration, it is

<sup>4</sup> Peter Boborykin, *Za Polveka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926), 208. For details of this sort see, in addition to Boborykin, L. F. Pantelev, *Iz Vospominanii Proshlogo* (Moscow, 1934), 6-320. Tolstoi was among those to wear a Rousseau medallion.

<sup>5</sup> Of particular importance in this development was Nicholas Chernyshevskii's break with Alexander Herzen after their meeting in London in June 1859. Chernyshevskii thenceforth identified Herzen with the "timid" liberals, calling him "Kavelin squared and nothing more" (Boborykin, *Za Polveka*, 358, n. 167). For an interesting and long-overdue discussion of Constantine Kavelin's liberal ideas in the late fifties, see V. N. Rozental', "The First Open Project of the Russian Liberals," *Istoriia SSSR* (No. 2, 1958); for Kavelin's perceptive memorandum analyzing his radical opponents in 1866, see *Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (Moscow, 1950) V, 326-41.

<sup>6</sup> These two groups, which included painters like I. E. Repin and V. I. Surikov and composers like Modest Musorgskii and Mili Balakirev, were spurred to rebellion by the inroads of German culture. The "wanderers" began their wanderings after refusing to paint "Odin in Valhalla," the prize subject assigned at the St. Petersburg Academy in 1863; the "mighty handful" (*moguchaia kuchka*), known in the West as "the five," became a distinct group at almost the same time in rebellion against the influence of Richard Wagner, who was a visiting conductor in St. Petersburg that season and who they feared might gain further adherents through his hold on Alexander Serov.

Good brief accounts of these movements are given in Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1942), III, 58-62, and Boborykin, *Za Polveka*, 229-37. For the reverence with which Soviet critics regard these forerunners of programmatic realism, see *Bol'shaia Sovetskaiia Entsiklopediia* (2d ed., 61 vols., Moscow, 1950-58), XXVIII, 26-28; XXXII, 403-405.

<sup>7</sup> See particularly Belinskii's letter to Vasilii Botkin of March 14, 1840, cited in the useful anthology by S. P. Zhaba, *Russkie Mysliteli o Rossii i Chelovechestve* (Paris, 1954), 71. For discussion of Belinskii's important and deliberate linguistic innovations, see Iu. S. Sorokin, "Belinskii and the Russian Literary Language," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Otd. Lit. i Iaz.*, VII (No. 5, 1948), 383-400.

not surprising that he should turn with all his heart, mind, and soul to radical journalism—his main concern and only profession from the publication of his first article in 1860 to his death at his editorial desk in 1904.

A second institution was that of the radical circle (*kruzhok*), now reinforced with chess clubs, private libraries, and frequent evening meetings. These circles acquired increased significance after 1859 when the Literary Fund was established to provide income for indigent writers. Many of the beneficiaries proved to be radical publicists, due in part to the great influence that Mikhailovskii came to assume in the organization. Another ritual of great importance was what came to be called even in this period “self-criticism”—a confession to the circle of moral failings to the sacred cause of progress. Finally, there was much experimentation in communal living: the sharing of profits, menial labors, and, at times, wives.

Close to the center of this new religion was the poet Nicholas Nekrasov, who was the editor of the leading journal of the early sixties, *The Contemporary* (*Sovremennik*), and two members of what he called his “consistory”: Gregory Eliseev, a former theology professor from Kazan who helped bring Mikhailovskii into radical journalism, and Nicholas Chernyshevskii, a former seminarian from further south along the Volga, whose arrest and long imprisonment made him a semilegendary figure for Mikhailovskii and his contemporaries. A hint of the legacy that this emerging religion would leave may be seen from the fact that Eliseev’s first journal in the late fifties was called *The Spark* (*Iskra*),<sup>8</sup> and Chernyshevskii’s valedictory to the young *enragés* in 1863, “What Is to Be Done?” (*Chto Delat’*)—the exact titles that Lenin would later adopt for his first journal and his full-scale revolutionary credo.

This 1858–1863 period also gave birth to two terms of subsequent importance for Russian, and, indeed, world history. One was “nihilist,” which (despite sporadic earlier usage by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, N. I. Nadezhdin, and even Timothy Dwight) was first given widespread currency by Michael Katkov and then by Ivan Turgenev in *Fathers and Sons*.<sup>9</sup> Although the word

<sup>8</sup> Eliseev wrote a “Chronicle of Progress” column on *The Spark*, the first regular column that Mikhailovskii read as a youth. He later became a close friend of Vasilii and Nicholas Kurochkin, editors respectively of *The Spark* and the collection *Novskii Sbornik*, to which Mikhailovskii contributed an important article in 1867. For the early history of the Literary Fund and its links with the radical movement, see Panteleev, *Iz Vospominanii*, 212–34. Here and subsequently references will not generally be given for materials already covered in the author’s *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism* (Oxford, Eng., 1958). Lenin’s other proposed party organ, *Zaria* (*The Dawn*), was the title of the journal on which both Pisarev and Mikhailovskii had made their journalistic debuts in 1860.

<sup>9</sup> Turgenev’s derivation of the term from Katkov’s slightly earlier journalistic usage is expounded by B. P. Koz’mín, “Two Words on the Word ‘Nihilist,’” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Otd. Lit. i Iaz.*, X (No. 4, 1951), 378–85; attacked by A. I. Batiuto (who claims that Katkov stole it from Turgenev’s manuscript), “On the Question of the Origin of the Word ‘Nihilist,’” *ibid.*, XII (No. 6, 1953), 520–25; and defended (successfully, in my estimation) by Koz’mín,

soon became an imprecise term of abuse for all Russian dissenters, it did nonetheless accurately characterize the negative attitude common to young students of the early sixties, whatever their future pattern of development.

The second term was invented to describe the sense of unity through alienation which was felt by the participants in this iconoclastic revolution. This was the famous expression *intelligentsia*, which like the word *nihilist* was first given general currency by a novelist, Peter Boborykin. Students of Russian social thought will probably not consider it altogether accidental that the originator of this term should himself be a verbose writer who gave birth to another word widely used during this period: the verb *boborykat'* (to talk endlessly).

The term "intelligent" apparently first came to Boborykin when he returned to his native Nizhni-Novgorod just after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861.<sup>10</sup> He used it to describe the sense of separation he felt from the mundane concerns of provincial life after studying at Dorpat, the only Russian university where it was possible to study philosophy in the 1850's.<sup>11</sup> But the term also carried in its early usage something of the meaning of the original Latin word *intelligentia*, or intelligence and understanding, as, for example, when

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"More on the Word Nihilist," *ibid.*, 526-28. On other uses of the word, see M. P. Alekseev, "Toward a History of the Word 'Nihilism,'" *Sbornik Statei v Chest' A. I. Sobolevskogo* (Leningrad, 1928), 413-17; *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (13 vols., Wiesbaden, 1952-58), VIII, 414; *A New English Dictionary* (10 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1888-1928), VI, 150; and Benoît-P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), 192-96. Interestingly enough, the USSR now applies the term to John Dewey and the philosophy of pragmatism. See *Bol'shaia Sovetskaiia Entsiklopediia* (2d ed., 61 vols., Moscow, 1950-58), XXIX, 561.

<sup>10</sup> Unlike the derivation of the term *nihilist*, that of *intelligentsia* has not been subjected to serious historical study, though there are many attempts to define retrospectively and usually impressionistically what the *intelligentsia* represented in the history of Russian social thought. For the best of these, see particularly Nicholas Berdiaev *et al.*, *Vekhi* (4th ed., Moscow, 1909); N. S. Arsen'ev *et al.*, *Intelligentsiia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1910); and R. V. Ivanov-Razumnik, *Chto Takoe Intelligentsiia* (Berlin, 1920). Boborykin's origination of the word is based largely on his own testimony in *Za Polveka*, pages 178 and 213. Though I have not found the term actually used in those few of his novels of the sixties reprinted in the two collected editions of his works, he wrote so many (hence the verb, for which see S. A. Vengerov, *Kritiko-Biograficheskii Slovar'* [6 vols., St. Petersburg, 1889-1904], IV, 211, and A. F. Koni, *Na Zhiznennom Puti* [5 vols., Leningrad, 1912-29], V, 338), and a great number were not reprinted or are otherwise unobtainable, that this provides no real reason for doubting his word. M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii ("The Intelligentsia and Socialism," in *Intelligentsiia v Rossii*, 248-49) and the first edition of the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaiia Entsiklopediia* (65 vols., Moscow, 1924-47), XXVIII, 608, both accept Boborykin as the originator of the term without, however, giving any precise reference. Useful material on Boborykin and references to his use of the word are also contained in A. M. Linin, *K Istorii Burzhuaznogo Stilia v Russkoi Literature Tvorchestvo P. D. Boborykina* (Rostov on the Don, 1935), esp. 61-62, 110. The *Slovar' Sovremennogo Russkogo Literaturnogo Iazyka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1956), 387-90, gives many interesting usages of this and related terms from the late 1880's on, but mentions none of the earlier usages here discussed.

<sup>11</sup> The general proscription on the teaching of philosophy was in effect until 1863, but even thereafter (until 1889) it was generally limited to two weekly lectures of commentary on set texts of Plato and Aristotle. This absence of formal philosophic training helps account for the excessive enthusiasm shown for a whole series of contemporary Western thinkers and for the imprecision, naïveté, and even illogicality of many of their theories. See Alexander Vvedenskii, "The Fate of Philosophy in Russia," *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*, XLII (Mar.-Apr. 1898).



Dmitrii Pisarev said that "the moving force of history is *intelligentsiia*."<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the word acquired by the late sixties the sense both of a group separated from ordinary humanity and of a suprapersonal force active in history, with what Lavrov called "critically-thinking individuals" as its special agents.<sup>13</sup> As early as May 1864 the word was used in this sense of special calling by Nicholas Shelgunov, a friend of Mikhailovskii and probably second only to him in influence during this period (though even more neglected by subsequent historians). "The intelligentsia of the xviii century," he wrote, "was purely bourgeois. . . . Only the intelligentsia of the xix century, schooled in generalization, has posed as the aim of all its effort the happiness of all . . . equality."<sup>14</sup> Mikhailovskii first used the phrase "Russian intelligentsia" in mid-1868 when he entitled a new "publicistic" column "Letters on the Russian Intelligentsia."<sup>15</sup> In the same year Shelgunov wrote optimistically that "the union of the heights and depths, of intelligentsia with the people is not an empty dream. This union is an inevitable historical law. It is the path of our progress. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

That the term intelligentsia should be related to a sense of historical mission, and indeed that the discontented intellectuals should actually gain strength in the face of mass arrests in 1863 and 1866, is in good measure attributable to the new hope that they found in the historical theories of Auguste Comte.

Largely because of the prohibition on the teaching of philosophy and a censorship that was harder on Comte than on Karl Marx, Comte's ideas did not become widely known in Russia until the mid-sixties, some years after his

<sup>12</sup> "The moving force of history is *intelligentsiia*, the path of history is marked out by the level of theoretical development of *intelligentsiia*." Quoted in *Bol'shaia Entsiklopediia* (1st ed.), XXVIII, 609. While I am unable to find this unreferenced citation in the F. F. Pavlenkov edition of Pisarev's works, it has the ring of Pisarev's later period (1865 or after). Note also the use of the term "moving force of history," which has become a cliché in Soviet usage, identified of course with the proletariat. Cf. D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Vospominaniia* (St. Petersburg, 1923), 23.

<sup>13</sup> This term of P. L. Lavrov's (*kriticheski-mysliashchaia lichnost'*), first given widespread currency in the *Historical Letters* (*Istoricheskie Pisma* [3d ed., St. Petersburg, 1906]), is apparently descended from Pisarev's and Nicholas Shelgunov's term "thinking proletariat" (*mysliashchii proletariat*), which in turn comes from the word with the same meaning, *umstvennyi proletariat*, derived from Ferdinand Lassalle by N. A. Dobroliubov. See P. L. Lavrov, *Istoricheskie Pisma* (3d ed., St. Petersburg, 1906), esp. 90-94, 107; and *Bol'shaia Entsiklopediia* (1st ed.), XXVIII, 608-609. The latter article (including a small bibliography on page 619) is the fullest and most intelligent Soviet exposition of the derivation of the concept.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Shelgunov, *Sochineniia* (3d ed., 3 vols., St. Petersburg, 1904-1905), I, 19. This is the earliest use of the term in Russian journalism that I have found.

<sup>15</sup> The column was designed for the journal *Contemporary Review* (*Sovremennoe Obozrenie*), the first of several attempts to reconstitute *The Contemporary* under a new name. The journal failed, however, before the first issue of July 1868 appeared, when the editor Nicholas Tible (the Russian translator of Herbert Spencer) fled abroad. See Mikhailovskii, *Literaturnyia Vospominaniia i Sovremennaia Smuta* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1900), I, 45-56.

<sup>16</sup> Article of Aug. 1868 in *Sochineniia*, I, 279-80.

death.<sup>17</sup> In a long article of 1865, which really introduced Comte to the Russian public, Pisarev expressed two wishes, both of which were rapidly fulfilled: that Russia should "come to know and value Comte much more fully than he is known and valued at present in Western Europe";<sup>18</sup> and that special attention should be paid to the "Historical Ideas of Auguste Comte."<sup>19</sup>

A few examples may illustrate how widespread Comte's influence soon became. Liberals like B. N. Chicherin and V. V. Lesevich, who later courted Buddhism, wrote lengthy books on Comte.<sup>20</sup> Comte and his teacher St.-Simon inspired the grandiose social plans of such diversified figures as the St. Petersburg economist V. P. Bezobrazov (originator of the monthly "economic dinners" at which new projects for the betterment of humanity were discussed, such as his own Volga development project), the Georgian editor N. Ia. Nikoladze (with his plan for building aqueducts in the Caucasus), and the expatriate G. N. Vyruhov (who returned from his editorship of a Comtian journal in Paris to set up hospitals in Erivan).<sup>21</sup> Even religious

<sup>17</sup> There had been a brief flurry of interest in the late forties prior to the last years of Nicholaevan reaction. D. A. Miliutin published the first Russian article on Comte in *Otechestvennyia Zapiski*, LV (No. 6, 1847). Valerian Maikov makes the first reference to Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* in an article of 1845 in *Finskii Vestnik* ("Social Sciences in Russia," *Sochineniia* [2 vols., Kiev, 1901], II, 25). Maikov may have introduced some of Comte's ideas to the ill-fated M. V. Petrashevskii circle. (See G. V. Aleksandrovskii's introduction to *ibid.*, I, and Vengerov's article in F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Effron, *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* [41 vols., St. Petersburg, 1890-1904], XVIII, 374-76.) A more substantial infiltration of Comtist thought occurred in the late fifties and early sixties via Valerian Maikov's important "Society of Thinking People" and the short-lived school set up in 1864 to teach Comtean thought by the "Society of Lovers of Humanity." (See A. M. Skabichevskii, *Literaturnyia Vospominaniia* [Moscow and Leningrad, 1928], 107-18, 197-202.) The Comtist Edmond Pommier's teaching at the Lycée in Tsarskoe Selo possibly also spread the ideas. Pommier arrived from France in 1859 and taught some of Comte's ideas under the general rubric of French history and civilization. (For his course prospectus, see I. I. Seleznev, *Istoricheskii Ocherk Imperatorskago Litseia* [St. Petersburg, 1861], 501, and for the general reformist atmosphere of the Lycée in the early sixties, see A. N. Yakhontov, *Istoricheskii Ocherk Imperatorskago Aleksandrovskogo Litseia* [Paris, 1936], 151-52, and G. N. Vyruhov, "Memories of School," *Vestnik Evropy*, 45th year [No. 1, 1910], esp. 26-41.) Among those who studied under Pommier were Mikhailovskii's close friends Nicholas Nozhin and Michael Saltykov-Shchedrin and two important disciples of Comte who emigrated to Western Europe in the late sixties and collaborated on Littré's journal *La philosophie positive*, G. N. Vyruhov and Eugene de Roberti (Valentinov). Other Russian collaborators on this Comtist periodical were Boborykin and the geographer M. I. Veniukov.

<sup>18</sup> Pisarev, *Sochineniia* (2d F. F. Pavlenkov ed., 6 vols., St. Petersburg, 1897), IV, 323.

<sup>19</sup> This is the title of Pisarev's article (in *ibid.*, 313-464). The 1866 article "Popularizers of Negative Doctrines" (*ibid.*, 464-526) was designed as a continuation of the article on Comte and made the article the longest Pisarev ever wrote on a single subject. Another important article introducing Comte was Eugene Watson's almost simultaneous "August Comte and Positive Philosophy," *Sovremennik*, CIX (No. 8, 1865), CXI (Nos. 11, 12, 1865).

<sup>20</sup> B. N. Chicherin, *Polozhitel'naia Filosofii i Edinstvo Nauki* (Moscow, 1892); V. V. Lesevich, *Opyt Kriticheskago Issledovaniia Osnovonachal Pozitivnoi Filosofii* (St. Petersburg, 1877).

<sup>21</sup> On V. P. Bezobrazov (1828-89), see Peter Veinberg, "Bezobraznyi Postupok 'Vekha,'" *Istoricheskii Vestnik*, 21st year (May 1900), 472-89; Vengerov, *Slovar'*, II, 306-24; and J. F. Normano, *The Spirit of Russian Economics* (New York, 1945), 43-53 (the last providing a good digest of material on the impact of St.-Simon). Among Bezobrazov's works, see particularly his St.-Simonian plea for the abolition of artificial privilege and the formation of a new elite of talent in *Aristokratia i Interesy Dvorianstva* of 1859 (reprinted in his *Gosudarstvo i Obshchestvo* [St. Petersburg, 1882]). On N. Ia. Nikoladze (1843-1928), who visited Herzen



thinkers fell under the spell of this avowed foe of theology and metaphysics. The influential librarian of the Rumiantsev Museum in Moscow, Nicholas Fedorov, was led by Comte to conclude that the new age of science would make possible even the resurrection of the dead. The famed mystic Vladimir Solov'ev drew heavily on Comtian ideas and terminology.<sup>22</sup>

The most important aspect of Comte's impact was, however, that which his theory of history produced on Russia's uprooted radical intellectuals in the late sixties. Mikhailovskii explicitly borrowed it in "What Is Progress?" and several other influential articles; Lavrov wrote extensively on Comte, calling his work "the bible of the Russian intelligentsia."<sup>23</sup> He echoed Comte's call for consecration to humanity in the *Historical Letters*, and the call was answered by the formation of an explicitly Comtian "religion of humanity," the influence of which radiated out through the circles formed by its leading adherent, Nicholas Chaikovskii.<sup>24</sup> An important journal, *Knowledge (Znanie)*, was established as an avowed organ of Comtian thought.<sup>25</sup> In the general intoxication a prominent military officer, V. K. Geints, left Russia in 1868 to become William Frey of Kansas, leader of a utopian community based on Comtist principles complete with periodic services of dedication to humanity.<sup>26</sup> Geints was the harbinger of the intellectuals' mass move-

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and later worked for Mikhailovskii on *Otechestvennyia Zapiski*, see his *Pravitel'stvo i Molodoe Pokolenie* (Geneva, 1866) [published under the pseudonym of Nikifor G.], and Brockhaus-Effron, *Slovar'*, XXI, 100-101. His collected works are still available only in Georgian (2 vols., Tiflis, 1931-32). On G. N. Vyrubov (1843-1913), see the article and bibliography by Eugene de Roberti in Brockhaus-Effron, *Slovar'*, VII, 545-46, and his own interesting memoirs in *Vestnik Evropy*, 45th year (No. 1, 1910), 46th year (Nos. 1, 2, 1911), 48th year (Nos. 1, 2, 1913).

<sup>22</sup> The influence of Comte on both figures is well discussed in George Florovskii, *Puti Russkogo Bogosloviia* (Paris, 1937), 322-31. While the influence on Fedorov's truly cosmic vision of progress is relatively easy to perceive, the influence on Solov'ev has been less readily acknowledged, despite the latter's obvious interest, manifested in his article on Comte for Brockhaus-Effron and in his speech at the commemorative session on Comte in 1898. Florovskii has pointed to links with Malikov's Comtist God-humanity group, but does not make it entirely clear that this group predated by a considerable time Solov'ev's famous lectures on God-humanity in the late seventies. See Florovskii's "Reason and Faith of Solov'ev" in *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Social Thought*, ed. E. J. Simmons (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), esp. 288-92. The extraordinary influence of Comte's ideas and terminology on Solov'ev has been analyzed in detail in an unpublished Harvard doctoral dissertation by Zdenek David.

<sup>23</sup> On Mikhailovskii, see the French edition for full references: *Qu'est-ce que le Progrès?* (Paris, 1897), esp. 89-106, 141-51; on Lavrov, see N. S. Rusanov, "Lavrov the Man and Thinker," *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 18th year (No. 2, 1910), 229-32. Cf. P. L. Lavrov, *Stat'i Vospominaniia, Materialy* (Petrograd, 1922), 193-97, for the spread of interest in Comte after the first Russian translation of a book about him in 1867; and p. 107 for an indication that Lavrov was probably using Comte's theory as early as 1871.

<sup>24</sup> See the section "The Religion of Humanity" in N. V. Chaikovskii, *Religioznia i Obshchestvennia Iskaniia*, ed. V. V. Titov (Paris, 1929), 100-106.

<sup>25</sup> The first popular scientific journal in Russia, *Znanie* was explicitly designed to exclude all metaphysical subjects and to be "a propagandist of the positive method in all questions"—a program that subjected it to much harassment by the censorship. See I. A. Gol'dsmyt, "From Our Journalistic Past," *Minushie Gody*, 1st year (No. 12, 1908), 84-86.

<sup>26</sup> The good basic discussion of Geints (who lived among the Shakers and then with an-

ment "to the people" in the 1870's, bearing the glad tidings that a new age was dawning.

That the radical intelligentsia should find consolation in a promising new philosophy of history is hardly surprising to those who recall the historical character of much Russian theology or the astonishing impact of Hegel on the previous student generation. The reason for Comte's impact, and for the lesser but simultaneous influence of Herbert Spencer, is simply that he brought the young rebels' emotional belief in progress into harmony with their intellectual attachment to scientific method. They were heartened by Comte's idea that all human knowledge was moving toward a positive, scientific stage, that each discipline moved from theology through metaphysics to the positive level, and most important, that all social problems would soon be resolved by the last and most promising of the sciences—the science of society.

Thus it was essentially a common view of history that gave the alienated St. Petersburg intellectuals a sense of unity during the period of reaction in the late sixties. Picturing themselves as agents of the historical process, they began to call themselves *intelligentnyi* or at times *kul'turnyi*, neither term having much to do with intelligence or culture in the usual sense.<sup>27</sup>

Partly as a consequence of this belief that a new age of science was dawning, the radical intelligentsia developed a lofty indifference to the cause of political reform. Parliaments, constitutions, and the like were viewed as transitory phenomena, hopelessly connected with the abstract, "metaphysical" stage of human development.<sup>28</sup> Although he would later take the lead in urging the radical camp to work for political reforms, Mikhailovskii in the late sixties and early seventies was influential in convincing the key radical circle (the Chaikovskii group) and the most important radical journal (his own *Annals of the Fatherland*) to regard political questions as essentially irrelevant.

Another important characteristic of this new religion was its ethical and moral puritanism. Mediocre art, music, and literature with an explicit moral message were preferred to great works that did not endorse the religion of

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other Comtist community in England after the failure of the Kansas commune) in David Hecht, *Russian Radicals Look to America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 196–216, should be supplemented by P. I. Biriukov, "Leo Tolstoi and William Frey," *Minushie Gody*, 1st year (No. 9, 1908), 69–91, and by material listed in Florovskii, *Puti*, 552.

<sup>27</sup> The word "civilized" was also sometimes used in this sense (as by Lavrov in the *Historical Letters*), but most young radicals employed the word *kul'turnyi* or the term "cultural pioneers" (see Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Vospominaniia*, 28).

<sup>28</sup> Thus the nonrevolutionary positivists Boborykin and Vyubov agreed with the metaphysical revolutionary Michael Bakunin in condemning the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in 1867, which they all attended, for putting too much faith in liberal political formulas, though Bakunin caustically referred to his Russian fellow scientists as "the popes of science." Boborykin, *Za Polveka*, 325. See also Vyubov's article in *La philosophie positive*, I (No. 3, 1867), attacking the Congress for its excessive dependence on metaphysical political slogans.

humanity. Thus the crowds at the funeral of Nicholas Nekrasov (Mikhailovskii's fellow editor on *The Annals*) pressed forward to shout that this earnest but second-rate poet was not just equal, but superior to Alexander Pushkin. Mikhailovskii himself, in a famous article, sternly condemned Jacques Offenbach for his frivolity, citing (long before Khrushchev's visit to Hollywood) the cancan as a symbol of Western decadence and corruption. At the same time he accused Fëdor Dostoevskii of misrepresenting the Russian intelligentsia by portraying them as if they were still living in the eccentric, metaphysical age, which Mikhailovskii felt was passing away forever.

Thus by the early seventies concern for political liberties, aesthetic values, and even personal amusement had all been largely subordinated to a pseudo-scientific theory of history and the ethical fanaticism that it enjoined. It is interesting that this outlook came to be characterized by its opponents in the early seventies with the same phrase that the Bolsheviks would later employ to express approval of a similar attitude—*partiinyi* or party-spirited, used in the ethical sense of subordinating purely personal considerations to some "objective historical" criterion.

In the mid-seventies the liberal critic Eugene Markov expressed deep fear of the "*partiinyi* slogans," which he saw emerging out of "the common theoretical element of the city population."<sup>29</sup> Moderate provincial reformers like N. M. Iadrintsev and N. P. Polivanov expressed resentment at the ideological imperialism of the Petersburg intellectuals as they "went to the people."<sup>30</sup> Polivanov referred bitterly to the arrival of "populists in the *partiinyi* sense" in Saratov,<sup>31</sup> and castigated their "narrow, closed, sectarian" outlook, which he appears to have characterized even then with the now famous term *partiinnost'*, or sacrificial party spirit.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See the introduction of Sept. 1876 to his *Sobranie Sochinenii* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1877), I, i, and the strikingly prophetic article, "The Party of Destruction," *ibid.*, 118–19, 122, 167.

<sup>30</sup> See M. K. Lemke, *N. M. Iadrintsev* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 96–97.

<sup>31</sup> Article on N. P. Polivanov by an anonymous "Saratovets," "A Man of the Seventies from Saratov," *Minuvshie Gody*, 1st year (No. 1, 1908), 275. These Saratov Jacobins, who in the late seventies set up a "central circle," tried to introduce new discipline and new tactical flexibility, and published a brochure, "The Preparatory Work of the Party" (*ibid.* [No. 4, 1908], 260–68), represent an interesting anticipation of Leninism.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 275. Since this article was written largely by direct extraction from Polivanov's letters and since the word is in quotation marks, it may be presumed that it was used by Polivanov himself. It may, however, have been drawn from Vladimir Lenin who employed the term as early as 1894, when, in criticism of P. B. Struve, he insisted that "materialism contains within itself, so to speak, *partiinnost'*. . . ." *Sochineniia* (3d ed., 30 vols., Moscow, 1935), I, 276. Lenin first used the term in the full sense of personal sacrifice for the sake of the party, while denouncing intellectuals who lacked it and who maintained "ideological individualism." See his denunciations of *bespartiinnost'* in "To Youth," 1903 (*ibid.*, V, 359), and of *protiv partiinosti* in "To the Party," 1904 (*ibid.*, VI, 354). The concept is developed further in "Party Organization and Party Literature," 1905 (*Sochineniia* [4th ed., 38 vols., Moscow, 1941–58], X, 26–31). The major expositor of this concept in the Stalin era, Andrei Zhdanov, explicitly links his concept of *partiinnost'* with the outlook of the radical intelligentsia of the sixties in his *Essays*

It is significant that the sectarian party spirit of the intelligentsia preceded any effective party organization. The movement "to the people" of more than two thousand intellectuals in 1874—the evangelical zenith of this new religion—antedated by several years the first attempts at formal organization. After the dissolution of this strange and convulsive movement, Mikhailovskii, it must be said to his credit, moved toward a more sober position, a "critical populism" which recognized the need both for practical political reforms and for a deeper base for moral philosophy.

Mikhailovskii, nevertheless, could not dissociate himself from the position to which he fell heir as high priest of the religion of humanity. His wife left him in the mid-seventies, and he came to spend virtually his entire life in his office—editing his journal, writing most of the bibliographical section, and serving as both oracle and father-confessor to the leading radicals of the age. A bust of Belinskii served him as a kind of icon, and his writing desk was well described by an associate as "the altar on which he performs his holy rites."<sup>33</sup> During the long series of political trials in the seventies and eighties, the place for the accused became referred to as Golgotha,<sup>34</sup> and Mikhailovskii kept extensive private notebooks which he called his martyrology.<sup>35</sup>

Thus inspired, Mikhailovskii helped institutionalize several practices which the religion of humanity would leave as an unconscious legacy to the ideologists of Soviet Russia. The first was that of ritual excommunication. Uncertain perhaps of what he really did believe, Mikhailovskii gave a kind of unity to the radical camp through periodic journalistic denunciations of those who had betrayed their hopes. His first article in the *Annals of the Fatherland* in 1868 was the denunciation of a colorful former revolutionary for being what Soviet ideologists would now call a "survival of the past," and what Mikhailovskii then characterized in the title of his article as "a victim of old Russian history."<sup>36</sup> Mikhailovskii coined the word "careerist"

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on *Literature, Philosophy and Music* (New York, 1950), 31-34. See also pp. 83-186, where he praises the *kuchkisty* for their anti-Westernism in music.

<sup>33</sup> V. V. Timofeeva as cited in *Gleb Uspenskii v Zhizni* (Moscow, 1935), 115.

<sup>34</sup> S. S. Sinegub, *Zapiski Chaikovtsa* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1929), 196.

<sup>35</sup> See E. E. Kolosov, *N. K. Mikhailovskii* (Petrograd, 1917), 81-94. Kolosov's rare book, which the author consulted in 1958 in the Leningrad Public Library, supplements the knowledge available to me when writing *Mikhailovskii* only in its exhaustive and inconclusive exploration of the total disappearance of Mikhailovskii's correspondence (in the pages cited above) and in its revelation that Mikhailovskii contributed to the Social Revolutionary journal *Rabochii Vestnik* from the summer of 1897 to March 1898, thus extending his period of active collaboration with revolutionaries well beyond the demise of *Narodnoe Pravo* in 1894. Kolosov, *ibid.*, 62-69.

<sup>36</sup> The practice of excommunication also effectively began with Belinskii, who in his famous letter to Nicholas Gogol denounced the latter's espousal of autocracy and Orthodoxy shortly before his death. Mikhailovskii's critique of Vasilii Kel'siev was originally written as Mikhail-

to excoriate those who were giving up the "cult of great ideas" for petty monetary considerations;<sup>37</sup> and the terms Judas, renegade, traitor, and so on were used by others to denounce not only police informers but many who had done nothing more than cease to believe in a coming utopia. "Vacillation" (*shatanie*), "unprincipledness" (*besprintsipnost'*), and lack of ideology (*bezideinost'*) were other frequent terms of denunciation.

Another practice, which has an ancient lineage in Russian history, was the attempt to discredit opponents—in this case political and economic liberals—by identifying them with foreign interests and ways of life. Many Russians who never went further west than St. Petersburg came to be denounced as "know-it-all foreigners";<sup>38</sup> and Shelgunov, who together with Mikhailovskii drew up the populist variant of the old theme of a special path for Russia, began as early as 1870 to use the term "cosmopolitanism" with the same pejorative overtones that the term later acquired in Soviet usage.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, throughout the seventies and eighties increasingly intense associations of regeneration and new life came to be invested in the concept of the people, the *narod*. The intelligentsia's idea of the people had, of course, little to do with real people and much to do with their own need for some new sanction for their activities. Having rejected all traditional bases for morality in the sixties, and having lost some of their faith in history by the late seventies, they came increasingly to invoke the name of the people as a deeper source of truth. As the radicals turned reluctantly to organization and political agitation, they did so under the labels "people's will" and "people's justice." Even *Boris Godunov*, Modest Musorgskii's great creation of the 1870's, would plead at the height of his tortured monologue—as Pushkin's Boris never would have done—that it was not he but *volia naroda* (the will

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ovskii's first "Letter on the Russian Intelligentsia." (See n. 12.) His most celebrated other denunciations were those of Iu. N. Govorukha-Otrok and L. A. Tikhomirov, "renegades" of the late seventies and late eighties respectively.

<sup>37</sup> His unfinished novel "The Career of Oladushkin" was written on the case of the "careerist" Govorukha-Otrok, who turned on his former comrades during the Chaikovskii trials and later became a supporter of the "black hundreds." See Sinegub, *Zapiski Chaikovtza*, 192, 201, 318, n. 93.) The phrase "cult of great ideas, of God-manhood, à la Auguste Comte and Fourier" was used in a toast by the poet D. D. Minaev to characterize the common faith of the radical writers gathered at the Mikhailovskies in the mid-seventies for a New Year's party. *Uspenskii v Zhizni*, 143.

<sup>38</sup> Saratovets, "A Man of the Seventies," 275.

<sup>39</sup> His denunciation of "outrageous cosmopolitanism and self-repudiation" (*Sochineniia*, II, 482) was made in reviewing the ideas of a German Jewish economist, and not surprisingly received approving notice in the late Stalin era. See A. S. Slabkii, "N. V. Shelgunov—A Representative of Russian Revolutionary Democracy," *Uchenye Zapiski Akademii Obshchestvennykh Nauk* (pre Ts. K VKP(b), XV (No. 15, 1952), esp. 197–98. Reactionaries like Constantine Leont'ev also used the term "cosmopolitan type" as one of abuse. See the undated fragment of the 1880's in *Sochineniia* (9 vols., Moscow, 1912–13), III, 565.



of the people) that had caused the death of Dmitrii and the Time of Troubles.<sup>40</sup>

It is interesting that the young Lenin should devote his first major polemic work not to a philosophic "defense of materialism" as other Marxists did, but to an attempt to wrest away from Mikhailovskii and the populists their claim to the title of "friend of the people."<sup>41</sup> Indeed Lenin and his heirs would later find it most useful to rebaptize the old instruments of power with the hallowed name of *narodnyi*, or people's. Initially, at least, Soviet Russia was ruled not by ministers but by "people's" commissars, just as Eastern Europe was later to be given not democracy in the Western sense but something new which goes under the name of "people's" democracy. Thus the Communist world is still drawing on the emotional capital that urban intellectuals of the last century invested in the concept of "the people." It is interesting that the term "enemy of the people," which Stalin used with such awesome effect and which he has been accused by Khrushchev of originating,<sup>42</sup> was in fact first employed by Shelgunov in 1861 and recurred in 1879 in the first issue of the *People's Will* journal, for which Mikhailovskii was editorial consultant.<sup>43</sup>

The philosophic thinness of this religion of humanity, and the subsequent use made of its terms and practices, should not, of course, blind one to the idealism and nobility of many of its practitioners. In the context of his age Mikhailovskii was, as I have tried to show elsewhere, a dedicated humanist with an abiding concern for the individual, laboring for reforms under the most trying circumstances. Calculating revolutionaries attacked Mikhailovskii and the evolutionary populists with no less gusto than Lenin was to attack the new humanistic religion of Anatole Lunacharskii and the "God-builders" thirty years later. But history, which deals more with effects than intentions,

<sup>40</sup> Modest Musorgskii, *Boris Godunov*, Act II (end of clock monologue) (Paris, 1924), 142-43.

<sup>41</sup> Thus, compare the tone as well as the titles of Plekhanov's *In Defence of Materialism* (London, 1947) with Lenin's virtually simultaneous work of the mid-nineties, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats* (Moscow, 1946).

<sup>42</sup> Khrushchev made the accusation in his secret speech to the Twentieth Party Congress on February 24-25, 1956. The speech is reprinted in Bertram Wolfe, *Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost* (New York, 1957), 106. Wolfe points out (p. 85, n.) that the term was used in Communist literature as early as December 11, 1917, in justifying the arrest of Cadet leaders. It was, moreover, incorporated into official Communist doctrine nine days later in the protocol (allegedly written by Lenin) defining the functions of the Cheka to include "publication of lists of enemies of the people" (reprinted in M. I. Latsis, "Comrade Dzerzhinskii and the V. Cheka," *Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia*, LVI [No. 9, 1926], 83). Latsis explains that "in those days to list a citizen as an enemy of the people was tantamount to a death sentence." *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> It is a key concept in a short anonymous play printed in the first issue of the periodical *Narodnaia Volia*, 1st year (No. 1, 1879), reprinted in *Literatura Sotsial'no-Revoliutsionoi Partii "Narodnoi Voli"* ([Paris,] 1905), 32-33. The phrase appears to have been used first in September 1861 in Shelgunov's "Proclamation to the Young Generation" (reprinted in N. V. Shelgunov, *Vospominaniia* [Moscow and Petrograd, 1923], 294).

must regrettably remember Mikhailovskii and his fellow populists less for the ideals they presented to contemporaries than for the myths and labels they left to posterity.

At the center of it all stood this unique religion of humanity. Its theologian was Comte, who reassured its evangelists by the massiveness of his writings and the simplicity of his central message (printed on the title page of his *Système de politique positive*): "the end is progress." Its minor prophets were Western reformers who had enjoyed little honor in their own countries but found unexpected success in Russia: Proudhon, Spencer, and Marx. Its practitioners were the new men of the sixties, and its origins lay in the spasm of negation that began in about 1858. Its frustration and failure were curiously foreshadowed in that very year, when the painter Alexander Ivanov died shortly after a vain attempt to convince the new Czar to build on Russian soil a temple "to the golden age of humanity," for which he had designed more than 250 murals during his long exile.<sup>44</sup> The religion reached compelling heights in the mid-seventies when even the anarchist Tolstoi and the conservative Dostoevskii found a rare common meeting ground in their brief collaboration on Mikhailovskii's journal.<sup>45</sup> The religion had been dying, however, for more than a decade when in 1904 Mikhailovskii, its most faithful exponent, was finally laid to rest in the Volkovo Cemetery under a monument unique even in that pantheon of nonconformism: a stack of books sculptured in granite.

It was perhaps fitting that his orderly funeral cortege of some five thousand mourners was interrupted and dwarfed by an unruly mob calling for war with Japan. The future belonged more to mass movements and passions than to an urbane and still predominantly aristocratic intelligentsia. Yet the builders of Soviet Russia were to profit more than a little from the sectarian spirit, moral fanaticism, and faith in history that Mikhailovskii had done so much to propagate. In the last analysis the concepts and terminology of the religion of humanity lacked either the depth or the clarity to save them from a relatively easy annexation by the politicians of inhumanity.

Peter Tkachev, a lonely early Jacobin whom Lenin later admired, seems to have sensed that professional revolutionaries would need to draw on the personnel and aspirations of the Petersburg intellectuals to form what he called in a letter to Engels of 1875 "our *intelligentnaia* revolutionary party."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Fedorov's similar idea for a "universal cathedral" some years later. Florovskii, *Puti*, 329. On Ivanov, see Dmitrii Chizhevskii, "The Religious Utopia of A. A. Ivanov," *Put'* (Oct. 1930), 41-57; Louis Réau, "A Romantic Russian Painter, Alexander Ivanov," *Revue d'études slaves*, XXVII (special tome jubilaire, 1951), 227-36.

<sup>45</sup> See my *Mikhailovsky*, 85, inc. notes.

<sup>46</sup> As quoted by G. V. Plekhanov in "Our Differences," *Sotsializm i Politicheskaia Bor'ba, Nashi Raznogiia* ([Moscow,] 1948), 150.

It was perhaps a prophetic description of the Bolshevik party as it followed Lenin's command to eliminate "all distinctions between workers and intelligentsia"<sup>47</sup> and added men like Nicholas Bukharin, Leon Trotskii, and Lunacharskii to its ranks, while accepting the collaboration of more than a few visionary populists and Fedorovists.<sup>48</sup> One may be tempted to say, as Serge Bulgakov did in 1909 and Boris Pasternak may have done in *Doctor Zhivago*, that "Revolution is the spiritual child of the intelligentsia, and consequently its history is a historical judgment on that intelligentsia."<sup>49</sup>

In any event, it seems altogether appropriate that Soviet ideologists should in more recent times have moved close to the position of the men of the seventies by effectively including the intelligentsia as part of the "*avant-garde*" or "moving force" of history—just as Lenin had at an earlier stage co-opted the populist agrarian program of the Social Revolutionary party. Contemporary Soviet posters almost invariably show three figures moving arm in arm toward the future: a worker, a peasant, and a man with a book. Indeed, the USSR seems to have settled not on the Marxist but on the populist formula—first used in the seventies by the itinerant missionaries of the religion of humanity—in describing the agents of progress as an alliance of "workers, peasants, and intelligentsia."

<sup>47</sup> From "What Is to Be Done?" 1902, in *Sochineniia* (4th ed.), V, 422. The entire prescription that professional revolutionaries "must completely wipe away [*stirat'sia*] every distinction between workers and intellectuals [*intelligentov*]" is italicized.

<sup>48</sup> See S. V. Utechin, "The Bolsheviks and Their Allies after 1917: The Ideological Pattern," *Soviet Studies*, IX (Oct. 1958), esp. 129–31.

<sup>49</sup> Serge Bulgakov, *Vekhi* (4th ed., Moscow, 1909), 25.



# The Hull-Nomura Conversations: A Fundamental Misconception

ROBERT J. C. BUTOW\*

IN the diplomatic talks between Japan and the United States which were begun in the spring of 1941, the government of Prince Fumimaro Konoye chose to be represented by a retired admiral rather than by a career diplomat. Ambassador Kichisaburō Nomura had met Franklin D. Roosevelt years before, when the former had seen service in Washington and the latter had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The admiral, who had other prominent American friends, had also held the foreign portfolio in the short-lived cabinet of General Nobuyuki Abe (August 30, 1939-January 15, 1940), which had been entrusted with the task of trying to improve relations with the United States. Because of these connections, it was thought that Nomura might be able to win understanding for Japan's case. Such experience as he had acquired during his brief tenure at the Foreign Office would stand him in good stead.

Knowing that the navy did not want to risk its fleet unnecessarily, some Japanese leaders seem also to have believed that having an admiral in Washington might prevent matters from getting out of hand. Nomura's personal reluctance to accept the proffered ambassadorial post was largely overcome by the persuasive efforts of naval colleagues, who encouraged him with assurances that the imperial navy did not intend to fight the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Although these various reasons may have appeared sound at the time, the posting to Washington of an ambassador who was far more at home in dealing with naval matters than in handling problems of foreign relations

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<sup>1</sup> Background material on Admiral Kichisaburō Nomura and his appointment as ambassador is contained in Takushirō Hattori, *Dai-Tōa Sensō Zenshi* [A Complete History of the Greater East Asia War] (4 vols., Tokyo, 1953), I, 109; Kenryō Satō, "Dai-Tōa Sensō wo Maneita Shōwa no Dōran" [The Shōwa Upheavals Which Brought on the Greater East Asia War] in *Kingu*, XXXII (Oct. 1956), 114; Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (2 vols., New York, 1948), I, 723, II, 987-88, 996; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941* [hereafter cited as FR: Japan, 1931-1941] (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1943), II, 128-29, 387-89; Joseph C. Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (New York, 1944), 350-51, 367; Frederick Moore, *With Japan's Leaders, an Intimate Record of Fourteen Years as Counsellor to the Japanese Government, Ending December 7, 1941* (New York, 1942), 157-61, 185, 210-14; Herbert Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor* (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 172.

simply added one more complication to an already tangled situation. Nomura's sincerity of purpose and good intentions proved incapable of coping successfully with the many intricate aspects of a diplomatic mission that would have tried the powers of an accomplished senior member of Japan's foreign service. This point is perhaps best illustrated by an extraordinary development that occurred at the very outset of his undertaking.

The Hull-Nomura conversations, which began on a fairly regular basis in March 1941, were an outgrowth of the private endeavors of two Maryknoll missionaries, Bishop James E. Walsh and Father James M. Drought, who had been in touch with Foreign Minister Yōsuke Matsuoka, Major General Akira Mutō of the War Ministry, and a number of other influential Japanese. The last-named, generally unidentified individually, had emphasized their interest in seeing a peace agreement reached with the United States. Although Matsuoka personally had not been very definite about the terms of such an agreement, "other officials and spokesmen" had suggested an effective Japanese withdrawal from the Tripartite Pact—in fact, if not in name—and a restoration of Chinese territorial and political integrity through the removal of all Japanese military forces from China.<sup>2</sup>

Following their return to the United States from Japan early in 1941, Bishop Walsh and Father Drought had conferred with Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, who was "one of the most prominent Catholics in the Administration," and with several members of the Japanese embassy. The two priests had subsequently placed the matter before the President during an interview at the White House which had been arranged by Walker and at which he and the Secretary of State were present.

Despite the fact that optimistic reports had been received before without result, Roosevelt and Hull had decided that Walsh and Drought, together with Walker, "should continue their contacts with the Japanese Embassy on a purely private basis and [should] seek to reduce to writing *what the Japanese had in mind*." More than two months later, on April 9, a so-called "Draft Understanding" was delivered to Secretary Hull through the Post-

<sup>2</sup> See International Military Tribunal for the Far East, "Transcript of Proceedings" [hereafter cited as IMTFE, "Transcript"] (48,412 pages, Tokyo, 1946-48), 32978-85 (Walsh affidavit), 10747-48, 10854-57 (Joseph W. Ballantine affidavit and cross-examination); Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 984; *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 328-31; *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, *The Far East* [hereafter cited as *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*] (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1956- ), IV, 113-14; Teiji Yabe, *Konoye Fumimaro* (2 vols., Tokyo, 1952), II, 237-47; Reijirō Wakatsuki, *Kofūan Kaiō-roku* [Memoirs] (Tokyo, 1950), 406-11; Tokuzō Aoki, *Taiheiyō Sensō Zenshi* [A Complete History of the Pacific War] (3 vols., Tokyo, 1953), III, 101-102. Bishop Walsh (at present, incommunicado in Shanghai) and Father Drought (since deceased) also met, among others, former Premier Baron Reijirō Wakatsuki, the financier Seihin Ikeda, and Tarō Terasaki, the chief of the American bureau of the Foreign Office.

master General, who had been acting as go-between.<sup>3</sup> Although this document was regarded by the State Department as a product of informal and unofficial discussions between the Maryknoll fathers and Japanese representatives in Washington, it was basically the work of an imperial army colonel, on temporary duty at the Japanese embassy.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of this officer on the scene stemmed from Admiral Nomura's belief that the China problem was the main issue between Japan and the United States. Before departing for the American capital, Nomura had traveled on the Asian continent, visiting key Japanese generals and their staffs in Korea, Manchuria, and China in order to discuss his new assignment with them, to pick up ideas, and to obtain the "understanding" of the armies in the field (a revealing indication of the role of field commanders in the formulation of Japan's foreign policy in the period in question).<sup>5</sup>

Upon his return to Tokyo Nomura had also spoken with Chief of the Army General Staff Gen Sugiyama and Vice-Minister of War Korechika Anami. He had expressed the hope that he would receive the cooperation of the authorities at the "center" (the army's top leadership). He had also specifically requested that an officer with a thorough knowledge of the China Incident, and of problems pertaining thereto, be sent to Washington to assist him.<sup>6</sup> Since the army at that time had reason to share Nomura's desire for success, the admiral's request had received prompt and favorable consideration. On the recommendation of Major General Mutō (the chief of the military affairs bureau), War Minister Hideki Tōjō had ordered Colonel Hideo Iwakuro (the then chief of the army affairs section of that bureau) to proceed to the American capital to help the ambassador in his difficult mission.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 984-86, 991 (the source of the quotation; italics mine); *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 328-31, 387-98; *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 14-18, 21-27, 51-55, 57-58, 61-81, 95-107, 111-17, 119-28, 130-39; IMTFE, "Transcript," 32978-85 (Walsh affidavit), 10747-48, 10854-57 (Ballantine affidavit and cross-examination).

<sup>4</sup> This point will be developed in the text that follows, but the basic references are *Kyōkutō Kokusai Gunji Saiban Sokki-roku* [The Stenographic Record of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East] (416 gō, Tokyo, 1946-48), Section 312, p. 14 (Iwakuro affidavit and cross-examination) [hereafter cited as *Sokki-roku*, 312: 14]; Iwakuro's responses to questions from the author; IMTFE, "Transcript," 32984-85 (Walsh affidavit); *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 17-18, 52, 70, 114-15, 119-22, 127, 174.

<sup>5</sup> Nomura visited Generals Jirō Minami, Yoshijirō Umezū, and Toshizō Nishio (governor-general of Korea, commander of the Kwantung army, and commander in chief of the Japanese forces in China, respectively). See Kichisaburō Nomura, "Kafu Kaisō" [Reminiscences of Washington] in *Dai Nippon Teikoku Shimatsu-ki* (Saron rinji zōkangō, Tsūkan 38, Tokyo, Dec. 15, 1949), I, 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; *Sokki-roku*, 312: 14 (Iwakuro affidavit); Hattori, *Dai-Tōa Sensō Zenshi*, I, 109-10; Aoki, *Taiheiyō Sensō Zenshi*, III, 100.

<sup>7</sup> On the attitude of the services (especially the role of Major General Akira Mutō and his naval counterpart Rear Admiral Takasumi Oka), see *Sokki-roku*, 315: 10 (Kenji Tomita affidavit), 312: 14-15 (Iwakuro affidavit), 312: 16 (Iwakuro re-direct), and IMTFE, "Transcript," 3278-91 (Walsh affidavit).

Iwakuro was well qualified for the assignment by virtue of having kept abreast of the activities and views of Walsh and Drought while they were still in Tokyo. His informant had been Mr. Tadao Ikawa, described by an American Foreign Service officer as "apparently a sincere and ardent Christian . . . believed to be married to an American woman." Ikawa had acted as interpreter for the Maryknoll fathers and was known to them as "a friend and unofficial representative" of Konoye. As the event turned out, Ikawa also traveled to the United States to render his assistance in bringing the two countries to an understanding.<sup>8</sup>

Although the record is not explicit, the evidence suggests that there had been a considerable amount of loose talking in Tokyo on the part of all concerned. The desire to create an atmosphere favorable to negotiations had existed on both sides. Since the discussions had been informal and unofficial, the participants (mostly amateurs with respect to diplomatic affairs) had tended to go quite far at times in speaking of the concessions that might be made in certain eventualities. There is no doubt that Walsh and Drought had come away with a rather misleading view of the extent to which the Japanese government was prepared to compromise. They steadfastly remained hopeful despite the skepticism later expressed in Washington. At times their enthusiasm betrayed them into reporting, at third hand, trivial items which would have been of no significance even if they could have been verified. On one such occasion, the Secretary of State was told in all seriousness, "Prince Konoye has hung on the wall of his private bedroom a photograph of President Roosevelt."<sup>9</sup>

The evidence also suggests that statements made by Walsh and Drought while still in Tokyo had encouraged some members of the Japanese group to form more optimistic conclusions about the attitude of the United States than were justified by the facts. Drought appears to have mentioned more than once that he was acting with the approval of "top personnel" in the

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According to Hull, "Iwakuro had all the virtues and shortcomings of a Japanese Army officer. He was a very fine type, honest, calmly poised, very sure of himself without being annoyingly self-confident. He could, of course, see only his Army's viewpoint, not ours or the real interest of Japan." *Memoirs*, II, 1003.

<sup>8</sup> Iwakuro's responses to questions from the author; *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 51-53 (a letter-report to the Secretary of State by the assistant commercial attaché in Japan), 113-17 (Ballantine memorandum); IMTFE, "Transcript," 32980 (Walsh affidavit). The name of Tadao Ikawa (since deceased) occasionally appears as "Tadao (Paul) Wikawa" in English-language sources.

In Toshikazu Kase, *Mizuri-Gô e no Dôtei* [Journey to the Missouri] (Tokyo, 1951), 79, Ikawa is described, without being identified by name, as a man "of rather unsavory reputation." Hull's impression was that Ikawa "was of the 'slick politician' type whom the Japanese themselves did not seem to respect for integrity." *Memoirs*, II, 1003.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 984-85, 991; *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 330-31; *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 17-18, 71-74 (the source of the quotation), 117; William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (New York, 1953), 468.

American government. As a consequence, Ikawa imprudently treated statements made by Drought as representing President Roosevelt's personal views. Iwakuro seems not to have gone quite that far, but he believed that the President was at least aware of what was taking place. At any rate, Iwakuro followed Ikawa's reports with interest. Various suggestions made by Walsh and Drought in conversations with others proved helpful to the colonel in formulating his own ideas for a "draft understanding." By the time he left Tokyo to assume his new duties in Washington, the framework of a proposal had already taken shape in his mind.

After his arrival in the United States Iwakuro learned from Ikawa that Walsh and Drought were in close touch with Postmaster General Walker and that Walker, in turn, was on "intimate terms" with the President (for instance, Walker could see Roosevelt at any time and the Postmaster General was always talking about his "boss"). Both Iwakuro and Ikawa thus concluded that they could interpret remarks made by Walker as reflecting the President's opinions.<sup>10</sup> The danger of so doing apparently did not cross their minds.

The first draft of the document conveyed to Hull on April 9 was prepared in Washington between April 2 and April 5. Iwakuro's Japanese text was translated orally by Ikawa for the benefit of Drought, who then wrote down an English equivalent. Discussions with regard to content took place primarily between Iwakuro and Drought (with Ikawa acting as interpreter), but according to the colonel's own postwar estimate the document that finally resulted was "90%-95% identical" with the outline he had had in mind when he left Japan.<sup>11</sup>

As Hull and his Far Eastern experts studied the "Draft Understanding" their "disappointment was keen." It was "much less accommodating" than they "had been led to believe it would be, and most of its provisions were all that the ardent Japanese imperialists could want."<sup>12</sup> The Secretary nevertheless decided to pursue the matter. He "concluded that, however objectionable

<sup>10</sup> Iwakuro's responses to questions from the author; Shigenori Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen* [An Aspect of the Times] (Tokyo, 1952), 160; Mamoru Shigemitsu, *Shōwa no Dōran* [The Upheavals of the Shōwa Period] (2 vols., Tokyo, 1952), II, 58-59.

<sup>11</sup> See the references cited in n. 4. Fumimaro Konoye, *Ushinawareshi Seiji* [Lost Politics] (Tokyo, 1946), 53, is incorrect in stating that the proposal of April 9 was a "second tentative draft" prepared by the Japanese side in answer to a "first tentative draft" presented by the American side on April 8.

<sup>12</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 991. The text of the proposal of April 9, which became known in Japan as the "Draft Understanding" of April 18 (the date of its arrival in Tokyo), is printed in *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 398-402. For the Japanese version ("Nichi-Bei Ryōkai-an"), see Gaimushō (hensan), *Nihon Gaikō Nenpyō narabi ni Shuyō Bunsho* [Chronological Tables and Major Documents Pertaining to Japan's Foreign Relations] (2 vols., Tokyo, 1955), II, 492-95. A detailed comparison of the English and Japanese texts is beyond the scope of this paper, but there are several omissions in the Japanese version that might bear further investigation.

some of the points might be, there were others that could be accepted as they stood and still others that could be agreed to if modified.”<sup>13</sup>

Feeling that “no opportunity should be overlooked that might lead to broad-scale conversations with Japan,” Hull invited Nomura to call on him, on April 14, at his apartment in the Wardman Park Hotel. At this meeting Hull emphasized a very important fact: the entirely informal and non-committal nature of the proceedings. He told Nomura that he had received “unofficial proposals” and that he had been informed “that the Ambassador himself had participated in and associated himself with” that effort. He wanted to be clear in his own mind, Hull said, as to the extent of Nomura’s “knowledge of the document containing the proposals and whether it was his [Nomura’s] desire to present it officially as a first step in negotiations.”

The admiral “promptly replied he knew all about the document, he had collaborated to some degree with the various Japanese and American individuals who drew it up, and he would be disposed to present it as a basis for negotiations.” The proposal had not yet been sent to Tokyo, Nomura said, “but he thought his Government would be favorably disposed toward it.” Hull then remarked that there were “certain points” the United States would wish to raise “prior to negotiations, such as the integrity and sovereignty of China and the principle of equality of opportunity in China,” and that Nomura “could then communicate these to his Government and ascertain whether it agreed that there was a basis for negotiations.”<sup>14</sup>

Two days later, at another meeting at the Secretary’s apartment, Hull handed Nomura the now-famous four principles on which the United States insisted any agreement with Japan must be based: “(1) respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations; (2) support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; (3) support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity; (4) non-disturbance of the *status quo* in the Pacific except as the *status quo* may be altered by peaceful means.”<sup>15</sup>

Hull emphasized that the United States wanted “a definite assurance in advance” that the Japanese government had “the willingness and ability to go forward with a plan for settlement” along the lines being proposed. The United States also wanted a positive indication from Japan that it was pre-

<sup>13</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 993-94.

<sup>14</sup> The quoted remarks are all from *ibid.*, 994. See also Hull’s memorandum of his conversation with Nomura on Apr. 14 in *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 331-32, 402-406; *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 135-39, 146-47; IMTFE, “Transcript,” 10857, 10859-60 (Ballantine affidavit).

<sup>15</sup> For these and other details relating to the Hull-Nomura conversation of Apr. 16, 1941, see Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 994-96; *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 406-10; *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 152-54.



pared "to abandon its present doctrine of military conquest," forsake the use of force as an instrument of policy, and adopt the principles that the American government had been proclaiming "as the foundation on which all relations between nations should properly rest."<sup>16</sup> Once Japan had adopted those principles, Hull said, if the ambassador "submitted to his Government the informal document prepared by the individual Americans and Japanese, and if his Government approved it and instructed him to propose it to us, it would afford a basis for starting conversations. We would thereupon offer counter proposals and independent proposals. We would then discuss these with Nomura, along with the Japanese proposals, and talk them out to a conclusion one way or the other in the friendly spirit that unquestionably should and would characterize the conversations."<sup>17</sup>

A rather extended exchange ensued on various issues raised by the four principles. Nomura suggested that the question of equality might be discussed in connection with the negotiations, but Hull immediately replied that this "would be impossible." The United States "could not think of entering into negotiations" if the Japanese government "should even hesitate in agreeing" to the principle of equality. Nomura referred to the "special relations" enjoyed by the United States with South America—relations of a type that Japan, he said, would not be allowed to maintain in the Far East. Hull endeavored, at some length, to convince the ambassador that there was "a great misapprehension and misunderstanding" in that regard.

Nomura then turned to the principle of nondisturbance of the *status quo* except by peaceful means. He stated that acceptance would interfere with the situation in Manchuria. The Secretary "replied that the question of non-recognition of Manchuria would be discussed in connection with the negotiations and dealt with at that stage, and that this *status quo* point would not, therefore, affect 'Manchukuo,' but was intended to apply to the future from the time of the adoption of a general settlement."<sup>18</sup>

Despite Nomura's remarks, Hull "was not sure" whether his statements regarding the four principles were fully understood by the ambassador. The Secretary had earlier found that Nomura "spoke a certain—sometimes an uncertain—amount of English." On the day in question (April 16) Nomura's command of the language struck Hull as being "so marginal" that he "took care to speak slowly and often to repeat and reemphasize some of [his] sentences."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 994.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 995.

<sup>18</sup> The quotations are from Hull's memorandum of the conversation in *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 408-409. See also Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 995-96.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 987, 996; *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 409; Ballantine correspondence. Joseph W.



Nomura wanted the Secretary to indicate whether he would approve, for the most part, the specific proposals contained in the document of April 9. Hull answered that the United States could approve several; others would have to be changed or dropped. The United States would also want to offer some proposals of its own. "But if your Government is in real earnest about changing its course," Hull declared, "I can see no good reason why ways could not be found to reach a fairly satisfactory settlement of all the essential questions presented."<sup>20</sup>

In this conversation with Nomura on April 16 Hull again went out of his way to stress that the United States and Japan had "in no sense reached the stage of negotiations" and that he and the ambassador were, at the moment, "only exploring in a purely preliminary and unofficial way what action might pave the way for negotiations later." "You tell me," Hull said, "that you have not submitted the document in question to your Government, but that you desire to do so. Naturally, you are at the fullest liberty to do this, but, of course, this does not imply any commitment whatever on the part of this Government with respect to the provisions of the document in case it should be approved by your Government."<sup>21</sup>

For all the good this did, Hull might have saved himself the time and the effort. Not one matter of substance out of all that he had said, with care and purpose, was transmitted to the Japanese government. In fact, hardly even a single word uttered by the Secretary trickled through to Tokyo. Nomura simply took the draft proposal, of which he was already fully cognizant, and cabled it to Japan's Foreign Ministry with a request for instructions and with a strong recommendation in behalf of a favorable response. In a single, longish, and rather ambiguous sentence of a type not infrequently encountered in the Japanese language, Nomura explained that "behind-the-scenes maneuvers" with respect to the proposal he was forwarding had been in progress for some time; the "approval" of the American government had been "sounded" out; he personally had "privately participated" after he had been able to affirm that Hull had "on the whole no objections" to the draft; as a result of "various negotiations" undertaken at his direction, this proposal had been "agreed upon."<sup>22</sup>

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Ballantine, a State Department expert on Japan, entered the conversations in May, on the occasion of the presentation of Japan's first formal proposals. From that point on, all vital matters, including those previously discussed, were repeated to the ambassador in Japanese. Ballantine had earlier met and talked with Iwakuro, who did not speak or understand English. Ballantine therefore believes that Nomura "clearly understood" the American position.

<sup>20</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 996.

<sup>21</sup> See Hull's memorandum of his conversation with Nomura on Apr. 16 in *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 406-10, esp. 407, from which the above statements are quoted.

<sup>22</sup> "Hon-Ryōkai-an ni tsuite wa kanete yori naimen kōsaku wo okonai Beikoku seifu-gawa

The ambassador also informed Tokyo that Hull had said the United States was willing to go ahead with the negotiations on the basis of the draft and had asked him to request instructions from his government. Here, too, Nomura's brief account gave not the slightest hint of the innumerable statements with which Hull had patiently built up his position like a mason carefully laying one stone upon another. The ambassador's few clipped words did not even report the sense of what he had been told by the American Secretary of State.

Hull had merely suggested to Nomura that he ask his home government to look at the "Draft Understanding" of April 9 so that Tokyo could decide whether it wished to instruct Nomura *to present that document to the United States* as a basis for starting conversations, in the course of which many specific items would be subject to revision or elimination. But in the Nomura cable this salient point is nowhere to be found.<sup>23</sup> The entire dispatch contains only one short sentence that even approaches anything that was said, and then only in far less specific terms than Hull had used. The reference is to a remark made during the meeting at the Wardman Park on April 16. According to Hull's memorandum of the conversation, "The Ambassador seemed not to understand why I could not now agree to some of these proposals in his document [the "Draft Understanding"]. I sought repeatedly to make clear to him, in the first place, that we have not reached the stage of negotiations, he himself agreeing that he thus far has no authority from his Government to negotiate; and in the second place, that if I should thus out of turn agree to a number of important proposals in the document and these proposals should be sent to Japan and the military or extremist groups should ignore them, I and my Government would be very much embarrassed."<sup>24</sup>

In Nomura's report this latter thought was restated in a way that contextually implied a certain American eagerness to push ahead on the basis of the proposal he was forwarding. The Secretary of State had advised him, Nomura cabled, that the United States government would be placed in a difficult position if Tokyo should convey its disavowal *after* the conversations

no san-i wo 'saundo' shi oritaru tokoro 'Haru' chōkan ni oite mo daitai kore ni igi naki mune tashikame etaru ni yori honshi ni oite mo naimitsu ni kan'yo shi shuju sesshō seshimetaru kekka hon-an wo yakushitaru mono nari" (Nomura Cable No. 233, Apr. 17, 1941, as copied from the original in the Foreign Office archives). In Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 159, the concluding phrase, "hon-an wo yakushitaru mono nari," appears as "hon-an wo etaru mono nari." The text of the "Draft Understanding" was transmitted separately, in Japanese, as Cable No. 234. Since Matsuoka was then in Europe, Konoye was acting concurrently as Foreign Minister.

<sup>23</sup> Nomura's cable answers a question in this regard raised by Feis, *Road to Pearl Harbor*, 192. A statement in Langer and Gleason, *Undeclared War*, 470, to the effect that Hull "made a rather serious mistake in requesting Nomura to send the informal program to Tokyo with the inquiry whether the Imperial Government would accept it as a basis for negotiation . . ." requires revision.

<sup>24</sup> *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 410.

had been in progress in Washington. The phrasing employed by Nomura throughout his cable tended to suggest that the "Draft Understanding" was essentially an American product prepared as a response to the various inside moves initiated by Nomura and his staff, that Hull himself had had a hand in the matter, or, at the very least, that the United States was taking the initiative in making a proposal to Japan.<sup>25</sup>

Ambassador Nomura also refrained from giving his government any indication of the basic American position emphatically defined by Hull in the form of the four principles and discussed at length by the two men on April 16. Despite Hull's concern as to whether the ambassador had "fully understood each statement . . . in regard to the four points laid before him," Nomura had informed the Secretary at the end of the conversation that he did comprehend the situation. He had also made it clear, or so Hull thought, "that he would [now] proceed in his own way to consult his Government regarding the four points. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

As a matter of fact, however, it was not until May 8, three weeks later, that Nomura quoted the four principles in a cable to the Foreign Office. He then advised Tokyo that the United States had stubbornly advocated those points during discussions relating to the "Draft Understanding." But he also added a disarming remark implying that he had been able to curb the American effort in that regard by proposing that the two sides avoid becoming deeply involved in arguments over principles so that they might concentrate instead on the solution of practical problems.<sup>27</sup> The impression given to Tokyo was that Nomura had successfully shelved the issue.

Four months were to pass before the Japanese government finally learned how important Hull's principles actually were in the American approach to a settlement. It was only on September 4, 1941, that Tokyo realized, from a so-called oral statement which had been handed by the President to Nomura for communication to his government, that the four principles constituted a definite problem—indeed, a major stumbling block—in the negotiations.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Nomura Cable No. 233, Apr. 17, 1941 (Foreign Office archives). Nomura's comments and recommendations in the latter half of the cable confirm the implication to the effect that the ambassador was forwarding a proposal suggested by the Americans. Upon reading the original dispatch after becoming Foreign Minister in October 1941, Tōgō interpreted Nomura's April report as indicating that Hull had personally participated in the preparation of the "Draft Understanding." *Jidai no Ichimen*, 160.

<sup>26</sup> *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 409-10.

<sup>27</sup> Nomura Cable No. 277, May 8, 1941 (Foreign Office archives). Statements in Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 996, and Langer and Gleason, *Undeclared War*, 470, to the effect that Nomura sent Hull's four principles to Tokyo in April, together with the "Draft Understanding," represent what would normally have been a logical assumption in the circumstances.

<sup>28</sup> Nomura Cable No. 777, Sept. 3, 1941 (Foreign Office archives); *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 589-91, esp. 590. The "oral statement" given to Nomura by the President on September 3 arrived in Tokyo on the afternoon of September 4.

Is it any wonder, then, that the "Draft Understanding" cabled to Tokyo by Nomura in mid-April was received there with open arms "like welcome rain in the desert," as a veritable "boon from Heaven," or that the eyes of the former premier, Baron Reijirō Wakatsuki, are said to have filled with tears of joy upon his being informed of the proposal just received from Washington?<sup>29</sup>

The "Draft Understanding" was immediately discussed at a liaison conference between the cabinet and the supreme command. A decision was postponed pending the return of Matsuoka from Europe, but the general feeling inclined toward "acceptance in principle." Several days later the document was subjected to careful study at a joint conference between the leaders of the Army General Staff and the War Ministry. In addition to Nomura's report to the Foreign Office, the army had at its disposal a cable from Iwakuro recommending that favorable consideration be given to an adjustment of Japanese-American relations on the basis being proposed. It was the understanding of all present that the private American citizens who had been involved in "drafting" the document had maintained close and continuous contact with Roosevelt, Hull, and Walker and that the President and Secretary of State had no objections regarding the purport of the proposal! The army leaders therefore concluded that this draft was "in reality . . . a plan submitted by the American Government."<sup>30</sup>

As Tōjō later expressed it, since the President and Hull "had knowledge" of the proposal and the Secretary of State had asked Nomura to obtain instructions from Tokyo as to "whether or not it would be all right to go ahead with the negotiations on the basis of this proposal we looked upon it as an official document. That is to say, we regarded the Japanese-American negotiations as having begun from the moment we were asked to indicate our attitude with respect to this proposal."<sup>31</sup> It is therefore apparent that the inadequacies of Nomura's reporting were further compounded by the manner in which the decision makers in Tokyo drew unwarrantable conclusions from even the few substantial facts that were available to them.

<sup>29</sup> In the order quoted: Japanese Research Division, "Interrogations of Japanese Officials on World War II" (2 vols., Tokyo, ca. 1949-51), I: 49157, Seizō Arisue, 40-41; Satō, "Dai-Tōa Sensō wo Maneita Shōwa no Dōran," 112; Saburō Kurusu, *Nichi-Bei Gaikō Hiwa: Waga Gaikō-shi* [The Secret Story of Japanese-American Relations: A History of Our Diplomacy] (Tokyo, 1952), 164.

<sup>30</sup> On the reaction of the leaders in Tokyo, see Konoye, *Ushinawareshi Seiji*, 52-54, 62-70; *Sokki-roku*, 293: 7-8 (Kido affidavit); Kurusu, *Nichi-Bei Gaikō-Hiwa*, 164-65; Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 154, 159-61; Shigemitsu, *Shōwa no Dōran*, II, 62-75 (Shigemitsu's account is based on what he learned after the war); Japanese Research Division, "Interrogations . . ." I: 49157, Seizō Arisue, 40-41; Satō, "Dai-Tōa Sensō wo Maneita Shōwa no Dōran," 111-13, 116-18; Satō correspondence; *Sokki-roku*, 343: 4-5 (Tōjō affidavit); Hattori, *Dai-Tōa Sensō Zenshi*, I, 121-23; Yabe, *Konoye Fumimaro*, II, 255-65.

<sup>31</sup> *Sokki-roku*, 343: 4 (Tōjō affidavit).

Thus, from the very beginning of the Hull-Nomura conversations, the opportunity for peace inherent therein was impaired by a fundamental misconception on the part of Japan's leaders. The generally poor communication existing among them by virtue of the indirection and vagueness traditional in Japanese thought and speech was now rivaled by an equally serious problem of communication between Japan and the United States. The officials in the American capital never realized the nature of the Japanese error, nor, for that matter, did the leaders in Tokyo. The army conference in question produced a decision in favor of going ahead on the basis of "the American plan." The navy was consulted and found to be in general agreement. Konoye, who believed implicitly that he was dealing with an American proposal, was also of the same view. Following his return from Europe, Matsuoka proved to be a major stumbling block and, consequently, a continuing source of difficulty for his colleagues. In view of what is now known about Iwakuro's role in formulating that proposal, the Foreign Minister's assessment of the "Draft Understanding" as representing 30 per cent good will and 70 per cent evil intent provides perhaps the ultimate irony. In the end, Matsuoka's objections were overcome, thanks, in part, to the efforts of Major General Mutō and Rear Admiral Oka, the chiefs of the powerful military and naval affairs bureaus of the War and Navy Ministries.<sup>32</sup> As a result, on May 12, 1941, Japan finally and rather tardily submitted her "answer" to the "American proposal" of mid-April.

Not until after the Pacific war had ended, more than four years later, did a few of those who had been in high places in Tokyo in 1941 come to realize that what had been intended as Japan's "answer" had been received in Washington on May 12 as Japan's initial offer. The decision makers within the Japanese government had always regarded their communication of that date as an official revision of the earlier "American" proposal. Only from postwar American testimony did they belatedly learn that their "answer" had been interpreted in Washington as Japan's first "official propositions."

As such, in mid-May 1941, the Japanese offering was analyzed minutely by the State Department. Hull and his experts were again disappointed. They concluded that "very few rays of hope shone from the document. What Japan was proposing was mostly to her own advantage. In effect, it called for a species of joint overlordship of the Pacific area by Japan and the United States, with Japan the baron of the part that embraced nine-tenths of the population and the wealth, and with little consideration for the rights and interests of other nations." The question facing the American

<sup>32</sup> FR: *Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 411-12; FR: *Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 172-73, 179, 185; references cited in n. 30.

government was "whether to begin the conversations with the Japanese. As the document stood," in Hull's view, "it offered little basis for an agreement, unless we were willing to sacrifice some of our most basic principles, which we were not. Nevertheless, it was a formal and detailed proposal from Japan. To have rejected it outright would have meant throwing away the only real chance we had had in many months to enter with Japan into a fundamental discussion of all the questions outstanding between us. . . . Consequently, we decided to go forward on the basis of the Japanese proposals and seek to argue Japan into modifying here, eliminating there, and inserting elsewhere, until we might reach an accord we both could sign with mutual good will."<sup>33</sup>

But it was not to be that simple. The trouble for the future lay in the erroneous conception of the American negotiating position that inevitably resulted from the assignment of a false value to the "Draft Understanding" by the decision makers in Tokyo. From April on, Japanese cabinet and supreme command leaders regularly used that document as a yardstick against which to measure the various proposals that subsequently emanated from the United States government. From incorrectly assuming in the spring of 1941 that the American attitude was more favorable than it was, Japan's leaders moved toward the argument some two months later that the American mood was stiffening and that the terms then being offered by Washington were far harsher than those "originally proposed."

This alleged "change in the American attitude," which was confirmed in Japanese eyes by the content of an American draft plan dated June 21 and by the President's oral statement of early September, proved more and more disappointing as time passed. The initial Japanese hope of being able to retain the essence by compromising on the form gradually waned, and, as it did so, Japan's own position in the negotiations hardened. Those who had been suspicious of Washington's motives from the outset, or who were opposed to even the slightest diplomatic concession, began finding it easier to interfere. A typical method was to attack the sincerity of the United States by pointing to the marked differences between the "American" offer of mid-April [Iwakuro's "Draft Understanding"] and the "second" proposal of June 21 [actually the first American statement of a basis on which conversations might be conducted].<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> On the May 12 proposal and the American reaction thereto, see Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 999-1001 (the source of the quotations in the text); *FR: Japan, 1931-1941*, II, 332-33, 415-26; IMTFE, "Transcript," 10748-51 (Ballantine affidavit).

<sup>34</sup> The text draws on statements in Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 152, 160; Satō, "Dai-Tōa Sensō wo Mancita Shōwa no Dōran," 125; Shigemitsu, *Shōwa no Dōran*, II, 69; *Sokki-roku*, 343: 9 (Tōjō affidavit). Individual evaluation can generally provide the necessary safeguards against



Although Nomura's key role in this entire matter is apparent, the primary responsibility of the government in Tokyo should not be overlooked. At a time of crisis in its relations with the United States that government elected to send to Washington a man of only limited practical experience in foreign affairs. Nomura himself had no illusions about his qualifications for the post. The wisdom of his reluctance to accept such an assignment was borne out by the misgivings that assailed him once the conversations were well under way. He even considered resigning and on more than one occasion expressed himself in favor of that course. But he was encouraged to stay on. And when he later asked that a career man such as Saburō Kurusu be sent to assist him, the request was not given favorable consideration until a change in cabinets had occurred, a new Foreign Minister had taken over, and the situation had so far deteriorated that Kurusu, no matter how expert, would indeed have accomplished the extraordinary had he been able to arrest the trend toward war.<sup>35</sup>

The crux of the matter, the explanation behind Nomura's failure to report fully and accurately, lies perhaps not so much in any language difficulty as in Nomura's lack of diplomatic experience and in his conception of his role as ambassador. There is no doubt that he was eager to see negotiations begun. He hoped that they would succeed in restoring friendly relations between Japan and the United States. Nomura knew, however, that there were men in Tokyo and on the continent of Asia who would react against any program envisaging fundamental concessions on Japan's part. He may therefore have felt that the risk inherent in not forwarding Hull's remarks was less than the danger that might have resulted from a thorough and factual report. Other evidence of Nomura's method of operation suggests that he may also have hoped to entice Tokyo into launching serious negotiations by giving an encouraging and optimistic impression from the start.<sup>36</sup> Despite Hull's insistence to the contrary, Nomura may even have assumed from "inside" information supplied by Iwakuro and Ikawa that the United States was more favorably disposed than was actually the case. Whatever the reason or reasons, Nomura did not report to his government all that he knew; Tokyo consequently remained in the dark concerning matters of vital importance.

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the element of calculated self-interest occasionally encountered in some postwar testimony. Although the time references are later, see also *FR: Diplomatic Papers, 1941*, IV, 527-28, and Shinichi Tanaka, *Taisen Totsunyū no Shinsō* [The Truth behind the Plunge into War] (Tokyo, 1955), 50-51.

<sup>35</sup> See Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 222-25; *Sokki-roku*, 337: 7 (Tōgō affidavit), 251: 9-10 (Yamamoto affidavit and related documents); Nomura, "Kafu Kaisō," 25.

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, Tōgō, *Jidai no Ichimen*, 160-62; *Sokki-roku*, 337: 7 (Tōgō affidavit); Shigemitsu, *Shōwa no Dōran*, II, 62-63, 74-75; Hull, *Memoirs*, II, 1003-1004.



Later developments, such as the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Japan's occupation of southern French Indochina, and the freezing of Japanese assets in the United States and elsewhere, were obviously of great significance in influencing governmental attitudes on both sides of the Pacific during the final months before Pearl Harbor, but the chronically disruptive effect of the initial misconception under which the leaders in Tokyo continued to labor should not be minimized. The Hull-Nomura conversations dragged on through 1941 without the facts of the situation ever coming to light, until, in the end, what had once been a promising effort for peace suddenly terminated in failure with Japan's abrupt and decisive resort to war.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Nature of the *Avenir* Movement (1830-1831)

PETER N. STEARNS\*

IN 1830 a small but unusually able group of men launched what proved to be the first significant Liberal Catholic movement in France. This movement, which centered around the newspaper *Avenir*, was active for only thirteen months; but despite its brevity it set forth, at least in embryonic form, all the fundamental ideas that were to appear in later manifestations of Liberal Catholicism. At the same time, because it was the first action of its kind in France and lacked precedents by which to operate, the *Avenir* movement could and did include elements that later efforts, taught by its failure, would avoid. For it was distinctly a product of its age, an attempt not only to find the proper role for the Church in a France newly emerged from revolution, but also to solve all the major problems of modern society. It was an ambitious attempt and, though quickly snuffed out, displayed a spirit which can never cease to be of interest.

Studies of the *Avenir* movement have generally stressed the importance of certain key ideas that the movement promoted, such as complete separation of Church and state, the right of revolution, universal suffrage, and association of Catholics and liberals in defense of the rights of all. No one can contest the significance of these and other concepts commonly and correctly associated with the *Avenir* movement. But the very significance of such ideas has frequently led students to mistake their role in the movement. It has been generally assumed that the efforts of all the leaders of the movement must have been devoted to the promotion of ideas so novel to the French Church. In fact, however, as we shall see, the leaders were in outright disagreement about some of the most vital matters with which they

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dealt, and they differed even more importantly over the value to be assigned to ideas that all seemed to accept. Instead of a single current in this first important manifestation of Liberal Catholicism in France, there were three fairly clear currents, all of which were to be important in the future. Their early emergence is an accurate indication of the deep roots that all had in the altered status of the French Church after the Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

One common error has above all contributed to the mistaken belief in the unity of the *Avenir* movement: the dominant role generally assigned to the Abbé Félicité de Lamennais. Despite the collaboration in the movement of many notable French Catholics—Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, Charles de Montalembert, the Abbé Olympe-Philippe Gerbet, Charles de Caux, and others—observers at the time and subsequently have tended to regard the *Avenir* group as a sect of which Lamennais was absolute master.<sup>2</sup> This view is in many respects an understandable one, for on the surface Lamennais' power seemed extensive. His coworkers took considerable pains to proclaim their devotion to him, publicly praising him in extravagant terms. They gave his views the greatest possible prominence and defended him vigorously against the slightest attack. It is clear, furthermore, that most major decisions were submitted to Lamennais for a final verdict before being put into effect. Lamennais seldom used his authority, however, to counter the wishes of his collaborators; and, more important, his power was one of adjudication of decisions more than of participation in the making of these decisions.<sup>3</sup>

The truth is that Lamennais was not in a position to control the *Avenir* movement at all closely. In the first place his primary interest in this period was the elaboration of a vast new general philosophy. This, combined with ill health and various pedagogical projects, took up the major part of his time. He was unable to write more than thirty articles for the *Avenir* during the thirteen months of its existence. He was, moreover, seldom in Paris. It is clear that, as he himself admitted, he could take no part in the administration, and

<sup>1</sup> For good examples of the "conventional" treatment of the ideas of the *Avenir* movement, included in generally excellent studies, see Alec R. Vidler, *Prophecy and Papacy* (London, 1954), 163–83; Charles Boutard, *Lamennais, sa vie et ses doctrines* (3 vols., Paris, 1905–13), II, 137–69; and, more briefly, Adrien Dansette, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine* (2 vols., Paris, 1948–51), I, 300–302. A far more perceptive treatment may be found in André Trannoy, *Le Romantisme politique de Montalembert avant 1843* (Paris, 1942), 143–62.

<sup>2</sup> Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse, *Procès de l'Avenir* (Paris, 1831), 7; *Gazette de France*, Mar. 29, 1832; "Rapporto della nunziatura parigiana al Vaticano," in Vatican MSS, Parigi-Nunzio, No. 248, Dec. 1, 1830; J. B. H. D. Lacordaire, *Le testament du P. Lacordaire*, ed. Charles, Count de Montalembert (Paris, 1870), 53–61. For an example of an extreme statement of Lamennais' power in the *Avenir* movement, see Georges Weill, *Histoire du Catholicisme libéral en France* (Paris, 1909), 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Gazette de France*, Feb. 5, 1831; Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse, *Mélanges Catholiques; Extraits de l'Avenir* (2 vols., Paris, 1831), *passim*; Lacordaire to Montalembert, Dec. 9, 1830, and Montalembert letter of Nov. 24, 1830, in Édouard Lecanuët, *Montalembert* (3 vols., Paris, 1895–1909), I, 137, 141–42; *ibid.*, I, 223.

little in the guidance, of the movement. Accordingly, the major as well as the minor tasks fell to the willing hands of Lacordaire, Coux, Gerbet, Montalembert, and the founder of the *Avenir* itself, A. Harel du Tancred. None of these men could presume to control any of the others, and the resultant atmosphere was extraordinarily free.<sup>4</sup>

Thus whatever unity there was to be in the *Avenir* movement was not to result from the supervisory power of one man. It had to flow from a natural harmony of views on the part of the leaders. But in fact there was no such harmony, for the men who worked together in the movement had for the most part developed their ideas independently, prior to any association with each other.<sup>5</sup> They were naturally influenced by their new comrades, but this influence could generally do no more than conceal temporarily the differences among them. In reality the leaders of the movement found themselves split into three basic groups. The one headed by Lamennais presented the most clearly enunciated doctrine, covering the widest range of subjects. The other two groups, however, although less masterfully represented, were no less important.

Lamennais and his followers based their ideas on the premise that Catholicism was necessary to the preservation of society. Lamennais felt that God had established immutable laws for human society and had made the Church the depository of these laws. Without these laws, and the Church as their infallible interpreter, Lamennais did not see how society could be held together. For what reason did one man have to obey another man, his equal, unless he were commanded to do so by God? God's ordinances alone prevented the brute force of anarchy or despotism from ruling society, by linking men in a belief in the moral value of obedience and by providing standards of justice that all governments had to follow to be truly legitimate. Lamennais had no doubt of the superiority of divine to human laws, and he made no attempt to deny that the logical result of this superiority was the supremacy of the Church over the state. Thus the Church, as the infallible

<sup>4</sup> Félicité de Lamennais, *Essai d'un système de philosophie catholique*, ed. Christian Marechal (Paris, 1906); *id.*, *Essai d'un système de philosophie catholique*, ed. Yves Le Hir (Rennes, 1954); Lamennais to Charles, marquis de Coriolis, Jan. 14, 1831, in *id.*, *Correspondance*, ed. E. D. Forgues (2 vols., Paris, 1864), II, 194; Casimir de Ladoué, *Monseigneur Gerbet, sa vie, ses oeuvres, et l'école ménaisienne* (2 vols., Paris, 1872-76), I, 2-6; Montalembert to Cornudet, Sept. 15, 1831, in Charles de Montalembert and Léon Cornudet, *Correspondance, 1831-1870*, ed. Léon Cornudet (Paris, 1905), 5; Lacordaire to Foisset, Dec. 30, 1830, in J. B. H. D. Lacordaire, *Lettres à Théophile Foisset*, ed. Joseph Crépon (2 vols., Paris, 1886), I, 205-208.

<sup>5</sup> Coux to Lamennais, Feb. 20, 1830, in *Le Portefeuille de Lamennais*, ed. Georges Goyau (Paris, 1930), 80; Charles de Coux, *Discours prononcé à l'ouverture d'un cours d'économie politique* (Paris, 1832), 1; Lacordaire to Lorain, 1824 or 1825, in M. P. Lorain, *Le R. P. Lacordaire* (Paris, 1847), 23; Lacordaire, *Testament*, 52-53; T. Foisset, *Vie du R. P. Lacordaire* (2 vols., Paris, 1870), I, 142 ff.; Montalembert to Lamennais, Oct. 26, 1830, in Charles de Montalembert, *Lettres à Lamennais*, ed. Georges Goyau and P. de Lallemant (Paris, 1932), 3; P. de Lallemant, *Montalembert et ses amis dans le romantisme* (Paris, 1927), 141.

representative of God on earth, had a political mission that no other institution could fulfill. This, rather than any spiritual mission, was the principal root of Lamennais' interest in it.<sup>6</sup>

Lamennais recognized, however, that in the world of 1830 the normal and desirable role of the Church could not possibly prevail. For the fact was that, over the centuries, secular governments had managed to subordinate the Church to their will, to submit divine force to human force. Largely because of this perversion, moreover, masses of people had been alienated from the Church, making the restoration of its proper supremacy a difficult matter. The result, in Lamennais' view, was a twofold problem: to reestablish the Church in both the hearts and the governments of men and to hold society together until this reestablishment had taken place.

Fortunately, as the Belgian Catholics seemed to be demonstrating, both these problems could be solved by a common means: liberty. Lamennais felt very strongly that, in a situation of divided beliefs, only free competition could restore the primacy of Catholic truth; any attempt at constraint would only alienate men. Thus the Church needed freedom from the state and all its works. At the same time large numbers of non-Catholics were seeking freedom also. Surely Catholics could join with them in this search. Not only would the Church be more likely to obtain freedom in this way, but also the link thereby established between Catholics and non-Catholics would serve as the only possible common bond by which to hold society together in the chaotic transition period of divided beliefs. A nation united only by a belief in liberty would be a poor substitute for a true Catholic society, but it would be vastly preferable to a nation with no unity whatsoever.<sup>7</sup>

These fundamental views remained with Lamennais to an extent throughout the existence of the *Avenir*. But gradually the emphasis changed and an evolution in his thought became obvious. The key to this evolution was the increased intensity of his belief in the inevitable and divinely guided progress of society. Lamennais felt keenly that he was living in an age when God was causing a "precipitous movement" to sweep over the world, destroying all outmoded institutions and ideas and preparing the way for the future society that He had envisaged. Lamennais became entranced with this future society. His visions of it became almost apocalyptic: not only was it to be far nearer

<sup>6</sup> Lamennais article in *L'Avenir, Journal politique, scientifique, et littéraire*, Nov. 9, 1830; *id.*, *Des Progrès de la révolution et de la guerre contre l'église* in *Oeuvres complètes* (2 vols., Brussels, 1839), II, 257; *id.*, *Seconde lettre à Monseigneur l'Archêvêque de Paris* (Paris, 1829), 215 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Lamennais articles in *Avenir*, Oct. 16, 30, 31, Dec. 22, 1830; Lamennais to Eugène Janvier, Feb. 18, 1831, in *Documents ménaisiens*, ed. François Duine (Paris, 1919), 11; *L'Avenir, Journal politique, scientifique, et littéraire: Prospectus* (Paris, 1830), 2.

perfection than all previous societies, but also it was to constitute "the final era of humanity."<sup>8</sup>

By the spring of 1831 Lamennais felt certain of the basic nature of the new society. Its foundation would be the complete freedom of spiritual affairs from the control of governments and the administration of temporal affairs by all those affected by them. The old coercive state would have served its purpose and would be virtually eliminated. For men had grown up, had progressed; they could take care of themselves. So true was this that the divine laws for society, which would of course remain in effect, could be entrusted to the masses for execution. The masses, in a regime of spiritual liberty, would return to Catholicism and so be guided by the infallible Church; but this would be a voluntary guidance, not debased by the presence of elements of force. And in temporal matters men could rule themselves completely. The new society was to be as close to the divine as would ever be attained on earth.<sup>9</sup>

The Church retained a tremendous role in Lamennais' projection of the future. Its struggle for liberty from the state was still of the utmost importance. But now its fight was not intended to hold society together temporarily and prepare a new predominance of the Church over the state; it was to establish that complete separation of beliefs from coercive power which would be the keynote of the future order. Others of Lamennais' opinions took on a new significance. Democracy, previously regarded as an inevitable aspect of the times, became a positive virtue. Lamennais was now vehement in his insistence on universal suffrage and in his denunciations of kings and privileged classes. Decentralization of the state, previously advocated as a method of weakening anticlerical Paris, became a means of bringing the administration of affairs under the control of the people. And finally, Lamennais' rapturous enthusiasm for the future society made him totally intolerant of any groups that seemed to lag behind. The Carlists and the July Monarchy came particularly under his lash, but the Church itself was touched by it. For Lamennais was becoming increasingly concerned about the obvious conservatism of the Church; furthermore, his growing confidence in the spiritual maturity of the masses made him less dependent on the Church as an institution. Thus, toward the end of the *Avenir's* career, Lamennais was beginning to insist that the Church had no control over the political beliefs and affairs of its adherents. This view, a neat reversal of the opinion he had supported previously,

<sup>8</sup> Lamennais to Count Friedrich de Senfft, Aug. 6, 1831, in Lamennais, *Correspondance*, II, 213; *id.*, *Essai*, ed. Le Hir, 65; Lamennais articles in *Avenir*, June 28, Sept. 3, 1831.

<sup>9</sup> Lamennais, *Essai*, ed. Le Hir, 303, 316; Lamennais articles in *Avenir*, June 28, 29, 1831; "Acte d'Union" in *ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1830.

was a clear indication of the extent to which Lamennais had become enmeshed in the promotion of his future society.<sup>10</sup>

Lamennais was not alone in his opinions among the leaders of the *Avenir* movement. Most obviously under his influence was the Abbé Gerbet, a convinced disciple well before the beginning of the *Avenir*. Gerbet not only echoed Lamennais' views but also elaborated some of them more fully than did his master.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, a few minor editors seem to have accepted at least the fundamentals of Lamennais' doctrines and to have attempted to apply them to their own special interests.<sup>12</sup>

A considerably more interesting case, because it involved a mutual reaction with Lamennais, was that of Charles de Coux. Coux had brought a well-developed economic doctrine with him to the *Avenir*. Like Lamennais he was concerned with social well-being, but all around him he saw the misery created by nascent industrialism, a misery which, by turning workers against capitalists, threatened the very stability of society. Again like Lamennais, Coux had found in Catholicism a solution for this situation. A return to Catholic principles would let men see the worker as a moral being, not as a cog in the productive process. On this basis the workers would be allowed to associate in their own defense and, more important, would be extended that Catholic charity which would allow them to live decently.<sup>13</sup>

Coux's interest in a better society, his desire for freedom of popular expression, and his belief in the social value of Catholicism were so close to Lamennais' views that interaction was almost inevitable. Soon after his association with the *Avenir*, Coux was writing of the need for liberty of the Church and for a Catholic-liberal association to defend society; later he defended Lamennais' view of a future society based on spiritual and local freedom, although he lacked his colleague's apocalyptic fervor. For his part, Lamennais rapidly absorbed much of Coux's interest in economics and relations among the classes and easily included these matters in his general view of divinely guided progress; his new concern about the effects of industrialism, bringing greater attention to the state of the masses, was in turn a major catalyst in the evolution of his own thinking.<sup>14</sup>

The interaction between Lamennais and Coux, though not complete, was

<sup>10</sup> Lamennais articles in *ibid.*, Feb. 18, Mar. 9, May 28, June 29, 1831; Lamennais to Countess Fernanda Riccini, Jan. 14, 1831, and to J. P. Gaston de Pins, archbishop of Amasie, Aug. 15, 1831, in Lamennais, *Correspondance*, II, 193, 221.

<sup>11</sup> Gerbet article in *Avenir*, July 2, 1831; *id.*, *Introduction à la philosophie d'histoire* (Louvain, 1832), 28, 62, 177.

<sup>12</sup> Édouard d'Ault-Dumesnil article in *Avenir*, Aug. 23, 1831.

<sup>13</sup> Coux articles in *ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1830, Apr. 21, 1831; *id.*, *Essais d'économie politique* (Louvain, 1833), 59.

<sup>14</sup> Coux speech in *Moniteur Universel*, Sept. 22, 1831; Coux articles in *Avenir*, Nov. 17, 1830, Jan. 2, Oct. 5, 1831; Lamennais article in *ibid.*, June 29, 1831.



far more extensive than that between Lamennais and any other of the main leaders of the movement who had not previously been associated with him. Coux alone of this group definitely shared the general tendencies of Lamennais' thought. The other leaders, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Harel, agreed with Lamennais on many specific points—otherwise they would not have cooperated with him at all. They did not share his total view, however, or even the bases of it. Lacordaire and Harel, in turn, disagreed with each other almost as much as they did with Lamennais, while Montalembert, a young man whose opinions were not fully formed, hovered uncertainly between the two, although clearly inclining toward Harel's position.

Harel and Montalembert agreed with Lamennais that the Church had to make certain major accommodations to the social order of postrevolutionary France. They agreed that it needed freedom from the state to regain its hold on the minds of men. But they most emphatically did not believe in Lamennais' brave democratic visions of the future. The disagreement on this point was most clearly revealed in the interpretation each side made of the divine laws which, as all the leaders of the *Avenir* movement agreed, governed society and could not be disregarded without causing injustice. By June 1831 Lamennais believed that in the dawning new order of things all men would be so aware of these laws that they could rule themselves; he did not shy away from defending popular sovereignty. In contrast, Harel, and probably Montalembert and other editors, felt that the eternal laws had to be defended from encroachments by the masses just as from encroachments by kings. In short this group did not believe in democracy, and Lamennais did. This was further evidenced by the use made of the notion of decentralization, again defended by all the *Avenir's* leaders. Lamennais wanted decentralization as a democratic measure, to bring government closer to the people. Harel and his cohorts, on the other hand, hoped that local democracy would bring the landed notables to power in a new way, thus mitigating the consequences of universal suffrage. They even hoped to allow the locally elected leaders to choose the members of all the other representative bodies in the nation. Thus Harel's group desired, under the cover of liberal and democratic slogans, to restore as much of the old social system as was possible in a new age. Church and class structure remained essential to society, but they could be salvaged only by concessions to the vocabulary and methods of the times.<sup>15</sup>

The contradiction between this view and Lamennais' was marked. Its expression was generally clouded because both sides employed the same key slogans, but occasionally there was an open clash. Thus the traditionalists

<sup>15</sup> Harel articles in *ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1830, Jan. 3, Apr. 9, 1831.

defended the peerage; Lamennais' group attacked it. The traditionalists sought to conciliate the Carlists; Lamennais took pleasure in wounding them. And the traditionalists believed in the continued viability of the institution of monarchy; Lamennais came to reject this view entirely. Clearly the cooperation between the advocates of a revitalized past and the apostles of a visionary future rested on the most tenuous of foundations.<sup>16</sup>

Significant as was the difference between the outlooks of Harel and Lamennais, it was surpassed in importance by the clash between Lamennais' beliefs and the third major current embodied in the *Avenir* movement. This final conflict concerned not a specific doctrine, but the reasons behind a whole set of doctrines. The principals in the disagreement, which became public only several months after the cessation of the *Avenir*, were Lamennais and Lacordaire, but Montalembert figured in it to an extent and all the editors had to choose a side. The disagreement centered around religious liberty, but its significance extended into the very nature of Liberal Catholicism and ultimately came to embrace the whole meaning of the movement.

All the editors of the *Avenir* wanted religious liberty; this was the primary reason for their founding the paper. That is to say, they wanted separation of the Church from the state, involving the renunciation of the concordat between the French government and the Vatican. Hence the payments to the clergy by the state, as well as the various powers of the state over the Church, were to be discarded. Education and the press, moreover, were to be free of state controls; representatives of any doctrine would be allowed full and equal freedom to teach and write. No one was more vigorous in defending these ideas than Lacordaire. At the same time the ideas were, as we have seen, of fundamental importance to Lamennais. Thus Lamennais and Lacordaire seemed to be a harmonious team, fighting jointly for views each had developed independently. But in fact the two men were poles apart.<sup>17</sup>

They were divided because of the reasons for which they desired religious liberty. Lamennais, as we have seen, wanted liberty for the sake of society. At first he wanted it as a bond between Catholics and liberals, whose unity was necessary for the defense of social order; in the longer run, he believed it would stimulate the growth of the Church, but even his interest in this growth was due to his view of the social necessity of Catholicism. Later Lamennais held that the liberty of the Church was a permanent element of

<sup>16</sup> Montalembert article in *ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1831; Lallemand, *Montalembert*, 141; Montalembert to Lemarcis, Nov. 15, 1830, in Charles de Montalembert, "Lettres à Gustave Lemarcis," ed. Victor Bucaille, *Revue Montalembert*, III (Dec. 1910), 629; Montalembert to Baron Karl Anckarsvård, Nov. 22, 1830, in *id.*, "Lettres inédites au Baron Anckarsvård (1829-1857)," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, XX (Jan. 1906), 51.

<sup>17</sup> Lacordaire article in *Avenir*, Oct. 17, 1830; Lacordaire speech in Charles de Montalembert, *Le Père Lacordaire* (Paris, 1862), 33.

the new society with which he was so passionately concerned. Lacordaire, in contrast, wanted liberty for the Church to benefit the Church as an ecclesiastical institution. He, like Lamennais, felt that liberty would expand the Church's authority, and he was more than willing to unite with liberals to obtain it. But always he was primarily interested in the spiritual advance of humanity, not in its social growth, and he interpreted spiritual advance in basically the same terms that the Church itself would have employed. Thus he could never accept the view which Lamennais came to advocate, that religious liberty and the separation of Church and state should henceforth be a permanent condition of society. He felt that they were a temporary solution for an era of divided beliefs; when mankind returned to the Catholic fold the salutary association between Church and state should and would be resumed.<sup>18</sup>

For a considerable time peace was maintained between Lamennais and Lacordaire, although the two men never seem to have been personally close. Never did Lacordaire contradict Lamennais' more esoteric doctrines; he merely ignored them. There was not a word from his pen about the social progress of humanity or the final era of mankind. And Lacordaire was a sincere democrat, agreeing with Lamennais' doctrines of universal suffrage and republicanism. Gradually, however, the differences in the fundamental purposes of the two men became harder to conceal, and near the end of the *Avenir's* career Lacordaire lamented that he could no longer "succeed in satisfying" Lamennais.<sup>19</sup>

The disagreement between the two men was not only implicit in the pages of the *Avenir*. It also showed in the association established by the editors to defend their principles in practice. This association, founded in December 1830 and called the *Agence générale pour la défense de la liberté religieuse*, was almost completely beyond Lamennais' control. Lamennais served as its honorary president and had a hand in establishing it, but its real leaders were Lacordaire and Montalembert. The *Agence* concerned itself solely with the defense of Catholic liberties; its main tasks were the protection of religious orders from persecution by the government and the establishment of Catholic schools free of government control. This Catholic orientation, entirely in accord with Lacordaire's thinking, did not alienate Lamennais; we have seen that he placed great stress on the importance of obtaining liberty for the Church. But his main interests were in a more broadly conceived association, which would include non-Catholics and be

<sup>18</sup> Lacordaire articles in *Avenir*, Nov. 25, Dec. 23, 1830, June 27, 1831; *Avenir*, June 20, 1831; Lacordaire to Foisset, July 19, 1830, in Lacordaire, *Lettres à Foisset*, I, 193.

<sup>19</sup> Lacordaire article in *Avenir*, May 8, 1831; Lacordaire to Montalembert, Oct. 1831, in Jean Pictave, "La séparation de Lacordaire et de Lamennais," *La vie intellectuelle*, XVIII (Dec. 10, 1932), 195.

devoted to the preservation of order in society and the establishment of the social arrangements of the future. He tried to set up such a society in the autumn of 1830, but failed; he did manage to include in the last issue of the *Avenir* a call for such a liberally and socially oriented association, but nothing came of it. The associational activity of the *Avenir* movement thus remained clearly in the hands of the men devoted primarily to the service of the Church.<sup>20</sup>

The real proof of the differences between Lamennais and Lacordaire came, of course, when the pope condemned their work in 1832. Then Lacordaire, with his spiritual interest in the Church, naturally submitted while Lamennais, with his secular interest in a liberal society, equally naturally left the Church. But even during the *Avenir's* active existence, the distinction between the viewpoints of the two men was apparent.

At the same time it was clear that the position of Lacordaire diverged from that of Harel, although not in a way that would preclude genuine and prolonged cooperation. In the first place Lacordaire was devoted to the spiritual benefit of the Church, whereas Harel's group combined such devotion with a realization that a flourishing Church would be a powerful force in the reestablishment of a traditional social order. Lacordaire further, as we have noted, actually welcomed the new democratic political ideas; on this point he differed radically from the traditionalists. Since his political interest, however, was relatively slight, political differences would not lead him to an irreconcilable clash unless those with whom he differed insisted upon it. And he could easily join with Harel's group in his attempt to accommodate the Church to modern society, confident that their desire to see the Church prosper in its own terms was only somewhat less than his own. Nonetheless, relative compatibility does not mean identity, and the points of view expressed by Harel and Lacordaire should not be confused.

It is clear then that there were three distinct Liberal Catholic currents involved in the *Avenir* movement. The first, represented by Harel and to an extent by Montalembert, genuinely wished to free the Church for its own benefit but also hoped to use liberal slogans as a cover for the reestablishment of an older pattern of society. The second, led by Lacordaire, shared the desire to liberate the Church for its own ecclesiastical benefit, and indeed devoted almost exclusive attention to this desire. In so far as this group was concerned with purely social matters, however, it was happy to accept fully and sincerely new political forms such as democracy. The third group, consisting of Lamennais, Gerbet, and to an extent Coux, agreed with the second

<sup>20</sup> Lamennais article and "Acte d'Union" in *Avenir*, Oct. 30, 1830, Nov. 15, 1831; Agence générale, *Mélanges*, II, 438; Boutard, *Lamennais*, II, 179, n. 1.

in seeking both the freedom of the Church and the democratization of society, but diverged from it in pursuing both for the same reason, namely the benefit of temporal society. All that these three currents had fully in common was a desire to reconcile the Church to modern society; the means of reconciliation and the purposes of it were different in each case. The *Avenir* provided a temporary juncture in time and space for these three points of view; it could not unite them. The *Avenir* movement itself was then a curious mixture of individual efforts, none of which clearly dominated the others. It was held together by a combination of partial agreement and of mutual misunderstanding on the part of its leaders. But this combination was an inadequate bond, and the movement rapidly fell apart in the face of adversity. The leaders, and the currents they represented, were to take separate paths in the future. Their union had been possible only for an exciting moment at the very dawning of Liberal Catholicism.

# Survey of Unpublished Sources on the Central Government and Politics of the German Empire, 1871-1918

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ONE of the most formidable tasks facing historians engaged in research is the problem of locating unpublished sources. Difficulties at this stage can be all the more frustrating because it is merely a preliminary, albeit an indispensable one, to the research itself. The following survey is designed as an introductory guide for historians interested in the unpublished sources, especially official documents, on the government and politics of the German Empire from 1871 to 1918. It is written from the point of view of the historian rather than the archivist<sup>1</sup> and is based primarily on the author's travel and research in West Germany during the academic year 1958-1959. The following survey makes no pretense at being exhaustive. It has two limited purposes: to summarize current information about unpublished sources on Bismarckian and Wilhelman government and politics, with citations of the literature where more detailed information can be found in each area, and to reveal the large volume of sources now available for research.

Consideration will be given here only to primary sources that contribute materially to the study of the central German government, including its institutions, personnel, and policies, between 1871 and 1918.<sup>2</sup> Prussian as well as imperial government sources are included, since the institutions of the central Prussian government were closely intertwined with those of the Empire. The survey is more complete on sources for domestic than foreign policy, having been based on the conviction that domestic policy offers the greater

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<sup>1</sup> Most articles on archival sources, including the recent survey by Georges Castellán, "Les Archives de la République Démocratique Allemande," *Revue historique*, CCXXI (Jan.-Mar. 1959), 56-89, start from the standpoint of certain archives, rather than beginning with a historical period and describing the archival sources available for that period.

<sup>2</sup> The information presented here was revised up to February 1960. Since conditions change rapidly, researchers are well advised to write to the relevant archival authorities and confirm the location of any documents that are of potential research interest. The prewar archival guide *Minerva-Handbücher: Die Archive* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), I, has now been superseded by *Archivum*, V, (1955) [published by the Conseil International des Archives (Paris, 1956)], 40-71, which contains a very useful directory of archives (with their addresses) in both East and West Germany. It should be noted that many staff changes have occurred since the publication of this directory. Current developments in archival sources can be followed by reading the two West German periodicals, *Der Archivar* and *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, and the East German journal, *Archivmitteilungen*.

challenge and promise to present-day students of the Empire. Historians interested in this period less from the governmental and political standpoint than from the social, economic, or cultural will gain only indirect help from this article. Scholars primarily interested in pre-1871 or post-1918 sources on politics and government can find much information in the surveys and articles cited here, but the emphasis on the period of the Empire precludes such benefits from being more than incidental. The documents for the Weimar and Hitler periods present an especially confusing picture, because they had in many cases never been deposited in archives before the war, thus making their evacuation uncoordinated and uncertain.

The unpublished sources will be considered in two major groups: official documents, that is, records of governmental authorities; unofficial papers bearing closely on the history of government and politics, especially papers of prominent persons and organizations such as political parties and pressure groups. Several of the articles cited below give detailed accounts of the wartime evacuation and storage of documents. Researchers will find this information of importance when they wish to locate documentary collections scattered by the war. Often it is only by reconstructing the wartime and postwar odyssey of archival contents that a researcher can determine which documents still exist and where they are now located.<sup>3</sup> Without such an effort there may be a temptation to accept the misfortune of "incomplete" sources when closer investigation could have filled the gaps.

The official documents of the imperial government are now to be found primarily in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Potsdam. Its holdings constitute the remains of the prewar Reichsarchiv, an institution founded, ironically enough, in 1919. The Reichsarchiv was restricted almost entirely to military history in the 1920's, and it was only during the 1930's that the civilian ministries transferred their pre-1918 papers to the archives in quantity.<sup>4</sup> The war interrupted the immense task of filing and cataloguing these documents, but

<sup>3</sup> The papers of Wilhelm Groener offer an interesting example. See Dorothea Groener-Geyer, "Die Odyssee der Groener-Papiere," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XIX (No. 2, 1959), 75-95; and Friedrich Frhr. von Gaertringen, "Zur 'Odyssee der Groener-Papiere,'" *ibid.* (No. 3-4, 1959), 244-53.

<sup>4</sup> The history of the Reichsarchiv is sketched by Gerhard Schmid in "Die Verluste in den Beständen des ehemaligen Reichsarchivs im zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Archivar und Historiker* [Festschrift for Heinrich Otto Meisner], edited by the Staatliche Archivverwaltung im Staatssekretariat für Innere Angelegenheiten ([East] Berlin, 1956), 176-207; and in the survey of the present Potsdam holdings: Helmut Lötze and Hans-Stephan Brather, *Übersicht über die Bestände des Deutschen Zentralarchivs Potsdam* ([East] Berlin, 1957), 23-26. Wilhelm Rohr, "Schicksal und Verbleib des Schriftgutes der obersten Reichsbehörden," *Der Archivar*, VIII (No. 3, 1955), 161-74, can now be supplemented by Lötze and Brather, *Übersicht*. See also Gisela Vollmer, "Schicksal und Verbleib deutscher Archivalien nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg," *Der Archivar*, XI (No. 3, 1958).



intense effort by East German archivists since the return of the remaining documents (a small percentage of the evacuated documents was lost) from Russian hands in 1950 has produced a high level of organization and accessibility.<sup>5</sup> Helmut Lötze and Hans-Stephan Brather's *Übersicht* gives a remarkably exact survey of the present collection of imperial government documents, and Georges Castellan provides a convenient table summarizing the holdings.<sup>6</sup>

The military and Foreign Office papers are the most important of the governmental documents whose fate deserves special comment. Although an enormous quantity of the contents of the Berlin and Potsdam archives was evacuated during the war, practically none of the Heeresarchiv documents were among them. The Heeresarchiv was also a post-Empire creation and housed the papers of the Prussian army, which was constitutionally the most powerful of the four German army contingents (with the Saxon, Württembergian, and Bavarian armies). An incendiary air raid in 1945 destroyed the Heeresarchiv and its contents, including all the official army papers from the imperial period.<sup>7</sup> This staggering loss has increased the importance of the few surviving personal papers of leading military figures. These papers are discussed further in the section on unofficial documents.

The naval documents experienced a more fortunate fate, having been evacuated in 1944 to Tambach Castle near Coburg. (The papers became known as the "Tambach Collection.") Owing to a lack of gasoline they could not be burned as ordered in the closing days of the war and they were captured by American troops. The papers were for the most part transported to the British Admiralty in London and organized there, with extensive microfilms of the documents subsequently being sent to the United States Office of Naval History (Department of the Navy) in Washington.<sup>8</sup> The British

<sup>5</sup> The Reichsarchiv never achieved sufficient organization before the Second World War to justify a general survey of its holdings. Thus the Lötze and Brather *Übersicht* represents the first comprehensive cataloguing of the Reichsarchiv contents. A careful survey of war losses suffered by the former Reichsarchiv is found in Schmid, "Die Verluste."

<sup>6</sup> Castellan, "Les Archives," 64-66.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Ruppert, "Heeresarchiv Potsdam, 1936-1945," *Der Archivar*, III (No. 4, 1950), 177-80; Bernhard Poll, "Vom Schicksal der deutschen Heeresakten und der amtlichen Kriegsgeschichtsschreibung," *ibid.*, VI (No. 2, 1953), 65-76. A note on the Poll article by Wolfgang Foerster (*Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, II [Oct. 1952], 507) disclosed the survival of a few Heeresarchiv items. See also Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Guide to Captured German Documents* [War Documentation Project Study No. 1, under the direction of Fritz T. Epstein] (New York, 1952); and *id.*, *Supplement to the Guide to Captured German Documents* [published by the American Historical Association Committee for the Study of War Documents] (Washington, D. C., 1959). The survey by Fritz T. Epstein, "Zur Quellenkunde der neuesten Geschichte," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, II (July 1954), 313-25, covers sources on World War II available among the captured German documents in Washington, D. C. (as of 1954), but also has a few comments on military papers from the imperial period. All but an insignificant group of the holdings of the Prussian Königlich Militärbibliothek were destroyed along with the Heeresarchiv; presumably this was also true of the Marinebibliothek.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Heinsius, "Der Verbleib des Aktenmaterials der deutschen Kriegsmarine," *Der Ar-*

Admiralty has thus far restricted access to the original papers. It is currently planned that all German naval papers up to 1918 will be given over to the Dokumentenzentrale des Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes der Bundeswehr in Freiburg im Breisgau where they will be catalogued and, it is hoped, will be made accessible for research before finally being deposited in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.

The Foreign Office documents (the imperial and Prussian foreign offices were identical except for Prussia's *Gesandtschaften* to the other states of the Empire) for the period 1871-1918 suffered a diverse fate during and after the war.<sup>9</sup> One group of documents was evacuated in 1943-1945 to a series of depots in the Harz Mountains. In 1945 these papers were captured by American troops, moved to a number of German storage sites in 1946-1948—the last being the Document Center in West Berlin—and were finally transferred in 1948 to Whaddon Hall in Britain. Once the papers reached England, priority in their organization was given to the project of publishing the series of *Documents on German Foreign Policy*.<sup>10</sup> An excellent catalogue of the files of the imperial and early Weimar documents which were at Whaddon Hall has now been published under the editorship of Howard M. Ehrmann who served as Director of the Whaddon Hall Project of the American Historical Association Committee for the Study of War Documents. The catalogue includes a list of all microfilms that have been made of the papers, along with the addresses where duplicates of the films may be obtained.<sup>11</sup> All of the Foreign Office papers that were stored in Britain have been returned to West Germany and are accessible for research at the Politisches Archiv of the West German Foreign Office in Bonn.<sup>12</sup>

A second group of Foreign Office documents was only partially evacuated

*chivar*, VIII (No. 2, 1955), 75-86. The University of Michigan is currently sponsoring the microfilming of some naval papers in England. Weinberg, *Supplement*, 3.

<sup>9</sup> A brief survey identifying the German Foreign Office documents captured by the Western Allies and those captured by the Russians in the chaotic spring of 1945 may be found in Wolfgang Mommsen, "Deutsche Archivalien im Ausland: I. Auswärtiges Amt," *Der Archivar*, IV (No. 1, 1951), 1-14.

<sup>10</sup> Hans Philipp, "Das Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes," *ibid.*, XI (No. 2, 1958), 139-50; *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945: From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry* (Washington, D. C., 1949- ). The original version of the documents is found in the corresponding series *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945 aus dem Archiv des Deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes* (Baden-Baden, 1950- ).

<sup>11</sup> *A Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867-1920* [published by the American Historical Association Committee for the Study of War Documents] ([Washington, D. C.,] 1959). See also Raymond J. Sontag's review of this catalogue in the *American Historical Review*, LXV (Oct. 1959), 126-27, and the subsequent letter by George O. Kent in *ibid.* (Jan. 1960), 493-94. Additional information on microfilms that have been recently transferred to the National Archives can be found in *ibid.*, 477-78. Richard A. Humphrey, "War-Born Microfilm Holdings of the Department of State," *Journal of Modern History*, XX (June 1948), 133-36, appeared too early to give any details of the State Department holdings.

<sup>12</sup> Philipp, "Das Politische Archiv," *passim*.

from Berlin and was seized at several storage sites by the Russians in 1945. In 1955 the Russian authorities turned over a portion of these papers to the East German archives; they are now administered by the Potsdam archives.<sup>13</sup> A third group of Foreign Office documents comprised papers now presumed to have been lost through evacuation, damage, and plunder.<sup>14</sup> It will not be possible to determine the size and importance of this lost group until the surviving documents and registers have been carefully studied.

The fate of the Prussian official documents is of no less interest to students of the German Empire, since the Prussian government structure overlapped with and influenced the imperial governing machine at many vital points (the monarchy, the offices of Chancellor and Prussian Foreign Minister, and so on). Unlike the Reichsarchiv, the Prussian archival system had enjoyed a long tradition before the beginning of World War II. It had acquired and catalogued important holdings of Prussian documents on the 1867-1918 period and had published what is still the basic source on two of the most important prewar Prussian collections: the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv (in Berlin-Dahlem before the war; its destroyed building has been restored and renamed the Hauptarchiv, but it contains almost none of the prewar holdings) and the Brandenburg-Preussisches Hausarchiv (at Berlin-Charlottenburg before the war).<sup>15</sup> The prewar contents of these archives are, with a few exceptions, now found in East Germany at Merseburg (Deutsches Zentralarchiv, *Abteilung II*).<sup>16</sup> The following items now in Merseburg give

<sup>13</sup> Helmut Lötze, "Die Bedeutung der von der Sowjetunion übergebenen deutschen Archivbestände für die deutsche Geschichtsforschung," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, III (No. 5, 1955), 775-79. This article was published in West Germany in slightly condensed form: "Die Übergabe deutscher Archivbestände durch die Sowjetunion an die Deutsche Demokratische Republik," *Der Archivar*, IX (No. 1, 1956), 31-34. The Foreign Office documents returned in 1955 are presumably the ones listed in Lötze and Brather, *Übersicht*, 48-50, although it is known that not all the Foreign Office papers captured in 1945 by the Russians are in fact listed there. Weinberg, *Supplement*, 5. In February and May 1959 the Russians delivered to East German authorities two further groups of captured documents. *Archivmitteilungen*, IX (No. 1, 1959), 30, (No. 3, 1959), 96. These papers are probably the ones that were unofficially reported by West Berlin sources in July 1959 to include the Foreign Office documents evacuated to Schloss Altgaul bei Wriezen. The Russians are said to be retaining certain Foreign Office papers that pertain to Russia and the Soviet Union. There have been no details on which period any of these documents cover. "Deutsches Archivmaterial nach Polen?" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 8, 1959. The chapter on "Germany" by Raymond J. Sontag in *Guide to the Diplomatic Archives of Western Europe*, ed. Daniel H. Thomas and Lynn M. Case (Philadelphia, 1959), 85-97, describes only the German Foreign Office documents captured by the Allied forces in the west (the Whaddon Hall papers) and gives no information on the East German holdings. A brief history of the Russians' return of archival materials may be found in E. G. Baskakov and O. V. Shablovskii, "Rückgabe der von der Sowjetarmee geretteten Archivmaterialien," *Sowjetwissenschaft. Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge* (No. 6, 1959), 700-704 [trans. from *Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (No. 5, 1958)]. For information about materials restituted since 1957, see Helmut Lötze, "Bericht über die von der UdSSR an die DDR seit 1957 übergebenen Archivbestände," *Archivmitteilungen*, X (No. 1, 1960), 12-15.

<sup>14</sup> Philippi, "Das Politische Archiv," 148-50.

<sup>15</sup> *Übersicht über die Bestände des Geheimen Staatsarchivs zu Berlin-Dahlem* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1934-39); *Übersicht über die Bestände des Brandenburg-Preussischen Hausarchivs zu Berlin-Charlottenburg* (Leipzig, 1939).

<sup>16</sup> Walter Nissen, "Der Neuaufbau verlagelter ehemals preussischer Archivbestände durch

some idea of the importance of the holdings: the papers of the Hohenzollern monarchs and of the Königliches Zivilkabinett, from the former Brandenburg-Preussisches Hausarchiv; almost all existing papers of the Prussian ministries;<sup>17</sup> personal papers of public officials such as Rudolf von Valentini and Count Waldersee and scholars such as Otto Hintze, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber.<sup>18</sup>

At least three groups of Prussian documents are now to be found outside Merseburg: (1) some Prussian Justizministerium papers are in the West German Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.<sup>19</sup> (2) The West Berlin Hauptarchiv has a few Prussian documents that were retained by Prussian ministries before and during the Second World War (they had never been deposited in any archives) and were subsequently rescued from the cellars of the destroyed Berlin ministries in 1945. Among these is a small group of Prussian Staatsministerium documents.<sup>20</sup> (3) Another (presumably small) collection of Prussian Staatsministerium papers is in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Hanover.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from the unpublished official sources listed above, regional archives in both East and West Germany contain important material for the study of imperial government and politics. Because of the federal character of the

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das Deutsche Zentralarchiv," *Archivmitteilungen*, I (No. 2, 1951), 21 ff., and "Das Schicksal der ausgelagerten Bestände des Preussischen Geheimen Staatsarchivs und des Brandenburg-Preussischen Hausarchivs und ihr heutiger Zustand," *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, XLIX (1954), 139-50. There is an abbreviated version of the preceding article: "Fünf Jahre Aufbau im Deutschen Zentralarchiv II, Merseburg," *Archivmitteilungen*, IV (No. 1, 1954), 19-20. See also Heinz Welsch, "Merseburg," in "Deutsches Zentralarchiv Potsdam und Merseburg," *ibid.*, IX (No. 5, 1959), 147-51.

<sup>17</sup> The East German archival administration is now preparing a two-volume survey of the large and important Merseburg holdings of the Prussian Handelsministerium. The survey is to be publication number two in the *Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Zentralarchivs*.

<sup>18</sup> See Castellan, "Les Archives," 68-75, for a brief survey of the Merseburg holdings.

<sup>19</sup> The other portion is in Merseburg. Rudolf Morsey of Bonn, who has had access to the Prussian Justizministerium documents in both Koblenz and Merseburg, informed me that the latter collection is considerably larger than the former; only eighty *Aktenbündel* of Justizministerium documents, however, are officially reported to be in Merseburg. This estimate appears to be too low, since a considerably larger quantity is in the Bundesarchiv. Welsch, "Merseburg," 148.

<sup>20</sup> Gerhard Zimmermann, "Das Hauptarchiv (ehemal. Preuss. Geh. Staatsarchiv) in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren," *Der Archivar*, VIII (No. 3, 1955), 173-80; and information supplied by Dr. Branig of the Hauptarchiv. Castellan, "Les Archives," 71, does not indicate that the Hauptarchiv holdings include some items never deposited in the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv.

<sup>21</sup> My inquiry in April 1959 concerning the nature of this holding produced only a vague reply from the Hanover archive. It should be noted that the bulk of the Staatsministerium papers, including the complete protocols of the Staatsministerium meetings, are in Merseburg. East German archival authorities announced in 1953 a plan to publish two volumes containing approximately six hundred extracts from the protocols of the most important Staatsministerium meetings between 1871 and 1918. Before World War II the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin had hoped to publish the complete set of protocols for this period but the plan was never carried out. Wilhelm Schäfer and Gerhard Schrader, "Zur preussischen Innenpolitik 1871-1918," *Archivalische Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* ([East] Berlin, 1954), I, 151-58.

Empire, the member states were involved in the business of central government more than is generally realized. Although the non-Prussian states seldom decided major issues (reform of the imperial tax structure was a notable exception), they were fully involved in Bundesrat consultations and in bilateral negotiations with the authorities of the Empire, Prussia, and other member states.<sup>22</sup> The records of these contacts are a valuable source on policy and procedures in Berlin and can be found among the papers of the former state governments, usually in the files of the Foreign Office or of other ministries that handled the negotiations (often the Finance or Justice Ministries) or in the files of the state's mission in Berlin, that is, the diplomatic mission (*Gesandtschaft*) to the Prussian court and the staff of delegates to the Bundesrat (*Bundesratsbevollmächtigte*).<sup>23</sup> The latter files, in cases where they were not destroyed in Berlin during the last war, are often found in the relevant regional archives (in West Germany administered by the *Länder*) and contain documents and notes kept by the mission for reference purposes, as well as the drafts of reports sent (in finished copy) to the home ministries.<sup>24</sup>

The 1955 volume of *Archivum* includes a full listing of the regional ar-

<sup>22</sup> The German Empire included twenty-five states, not counting Alsace-Lorraine which had special status. Except for the three city-republics of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, all the states were monarchies. Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg were kingdoms. Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, and Saxe-Weimar were grand duchies. Anhalt, Brunswick, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Saxe-Meiningen were duchies. Lippe, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Schaumburg-Lippe, Reuss Ältere Linie, Reuss Jüngere Linie, and Waldeck-Pyrmont were principalities.

<sup>23</sup> All of the Empire's major courts exchanged their own diplomatic representatives (*Gesandte*) while the minor courts often shared personnel. For a very convenient table of the *Gesandten* exchanged between 1867 and 1933, see Hans-Joachim Schreckenbach, "Innerdeutsche Gesandtschaften, 1867-1945," *Archivar und Historiker* [Meisner Festschrift], 404-28. The *Gesandten* to the Prussian court frequently doubled as temporary or permanent plenipotentiaries (*Bundesratsbevollmächtigte*) to the Bundesrat, which also met in Berlin.

<sup>24</sup> The organization of the regional archives varies significantly and a personal inquiry about the extent and availability of particular documents in each case is advisable. The following publications may be of preliminary help for the documents of former states of the Empire now administered by the West German archives: for Oldenburg, Hermann Lübbling, *Die Bestände des Staatsarchivs Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1943); for Württemberg, K. O. Müller, *Gesamtübersicht über die Bestände der staatlichen Archive Württembergs* (Stuttgart, 1937); for Baden, Manfred Krebs, *Gesamtübersicht der Bestände des Generallandesarchivs Karlsruhe* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1954-57); for Schaumburg-Lippe, *Die Schaumburg-Lippischen Archive und zentralen Registraturen: Ihre Geschichte und ihr Inhalt* (Göttingen, 1958). I could find no satisfactory surveys for the documents in West German archives of the following former states of the Empire: Braunschweig, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, and Lübeck. Although there is no recent survey of the Bavarian archives, helpful comments may be found in the chapter on "Bavaria" by Oron James Hale in *Guide to Diplomatic Archives*, ed. Thomas and Case, 311-20. Of papers now administered by the East German archives, the Thuringian holdings (including primarily the contents of the Geheimes Haupt- und Staatsarchiv of the former grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar) are surveyed in *Übersicht über die Bestände des Thüringischen Landeshauptarchivs Weimar*, ed. Hans Eberhardt (Weimar, 1959), and the Saxon collection (including primarily the holdings of the archives of the former kingdom of Saxony) in *Übersicht über die Bestände des Sächsischen Landeshauptarchivs und seiner Landesarchive*, ed. Hellmut Kretschmar (Leipzig, 1955). See also Hans-Joachim Schreckenbach, "Das Archiv der sächsischen Gesandtschaft in Berlin," *Archivmitteilungen*, VIII (No. 2, 1958), 50-58. It is currently planned that surveys of the holdings of all Landeshauptarchive and Landesarchive in East Germany will be completed by 1965. *Ibid.*, IX (No. 4, 1959), 103.



chives in East and West Germany. Pre-1918 papers are free of any special restrictions on use in most regional archives. Documents of the ruling houses of former states of the Empire are often administered by separate—usually family—archives, and careful inquiry is advisable to establish the exact extent and location of the holdings.<sup>25</sup> The extensive range of local archives in East and West Germany, for instance, the municipal archives (*Stadtarchiv*) and the county archives (*Kreisarchiv*), cannot be considered here, because, with occasional exceptions, they seldom contain sources of major interest on central imperial government.<sup>26</sup>

The importance of West German archives for research on the period of the German Empire has been enhanced by the present inaccessibility of the extensive East German collections. Very few Western scholars have been granted visas for archival research in East Germany since late 1957, and in 1959 West German scholars were pessimistic about prospects for improvement in the near future.<sup>27</sup> Researchers should, however, continue to apply to the East German authorities, since official policy on admission of foreigners is subject to change.

The most valuable unpublished sources that can be classified as “unofficial,” that is, not papers of former governmental institutions, are the *Nachlässe* of important public personages and organizations. The survey by Wolfgang Mommsen of personal papers is still a basic source, although a revised edition is now needed.<sup>28</sup> The Lötze and Brather *Übersicht* has brought the Mommsen survey up to date for the Potsdam *Nachlässe*, which include both personal papers and papers of political organizations and pressure groups.<sup>29</sup> Georges Castellan confirms information on the Merseburg *Nachlässe* given

<sup>25</sup> I know of the following instances in West Germany: (1) the Bavarian royal (Wittelsbach) papers are in the Geheimes Hausarchiv in Munich; (2) the Württemberg royal papers are in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart; (3) the Verwaltung des Grossherzoglichen Familienarchivs administers (from the offices of the Badisches Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe) the papers of the grand dukes of Baden; (4) the papers of the grand dukes of Oldenburg are under the authority of the Erbgrossherzogliche Güterverwaltung in Göltenstein, Post Lensahn, Ostholstein; (5) the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel administers the Braunschweig ruling house's papers; (6) the papers of the princes of Schaumburg-Lippe are in the family Hausarchiv in Bückeburg; (7) the papers of the grand dukes of Hesse are administered by the Grossherzogliches Familienarchiv under the authority of their owner, Prince Ludwig von Hessen und bei Rhein, Schloss Wolfsgarten bei Langen/Hessen.

<sup>26</sup> The *Archivum* directory includes these archives. The Bachem *Nachlass* (an invaluable source on the Center party) in the Cologne Stadtarchiv illustrates how important the exceptions can be.

<sup>27</sup> In August and December 1958, I unsuccessfully applied for an East German visa to do research at the Potsdam and Merseburg archives. See John Gagliardo, “Archives in East Germany,” *American Archivist*, XX (July 1957), 209–13, for an account of an American historian's trip to the Potsdam and Magdeburg archives in September 1956.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Mommsen, *Die schriftlichen Nachlässe in den zentralen deutschen und preussischen Archiven* (Koblenz, 1955).

<sup>29</sup> Lötze and Brather, *Übersicht*, 117–32, 191–210.

earlier by Hildegard Herricht.<sup>30</sup> Both the National Archives in Washington and the Public Record Office in London can furnish detailed lists of the *Nachlässe* that were among the captured German Foreign Ministry archives.<sup>31</sup>

Confiscation after 1933, war destruction, and postwar plunder wrought enormous chaos upon important *Nachlässe*. Of the surviving papers, new sets are revealed to the public or turned over to official archives every year.<sup>32</sup> Many collections are in the private possession of family heirs or are on loan to historians.<sup>33</sup> Researchers seeking papers that are omitted or listed as unlocated in the published surveys should make personal inquiries in order to obtain the latest information. Wolfgang Mommsen maintains a comprehensive file at the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz on all known *Nachlässe* (including those now outside Germany) of political figures from approximately 1850 on.

The collection of documents on the history of the German Social Democratic party (including the Bebel and Kautsky papers) at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam is among the most important of the holdings now outside Germany.<sup>34</sup> The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University has no personal papers from the imperial period.<sup>35</sup> An important group of papers belonging to (among others) high military figures of the imperial era was brought to the United States after the war and housed in the National Archives in Washington. Many of these papers have now been turned over to the West German Bundesarchiv, whose officials are pressing for the return of all German documents remaining abroad.<sup>36</sup>

Press archives furnish a useful source for the topical organization of press clippings and for clues on the inspiration of particular articles. There are two valuable press archives administered by East German authorities: the Foreign Office press archive now at the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Potsdam and

<sup>30</sup> Castellan, "Les Archives," 71; Hildegard Herricht, "Die Nachlässe im Deutschen Zentralarchiv II, Merseburg," *Archivmitteilungen*, IV (No. 1, 1954), 8-10. The Mommsen survey appeared after Herricht, and corrected some errors in the latter. Mommsen, *Die schriftlichen Nachlässe*.

<sup>31</sup> *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms*, xxxii.

<sup>32</sup> The Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, for example, has recently acquired the papers of Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld (unfortunately subject to special restrictions) and Prince Bernhard von Bülow.

<sup>33</sup> A collection of Herbert Bismarck's correspondence, for example, is being prepared for publication by Walter Bussmann (Berlin).

<sup>34</sup> The Institute is located at Keizersgracht 264 in Amsterdam.

<sup>35</sup> Hildegard R. Boeninger, *The Hoover Library Collection on Germany* (Stanford, Calif., 1955), covers only printed sources. The unpublished personal papers at the Hoover Institution are limited to the Weimar and Hitler eras. Weinberg, *Guide*, 25-29.

<sup>36</sup> Poll, "Vom Schicksal der Heeresakten," 73-74; Weinberg, *Guide*, 61-62. The original drafts of the Schlieffen plan were among the personal papers saved and brought to the National Archives. Gerhard Ritter, *Der Schlieffenplan: Kritik eines Mythos* (Munich, 1956). The book has been translated into English as *The Schlieffen Plan: Critique of a Myth* (London, 1958).



the press archive of the Bund der Landwirte, which is now divided between the library of the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte in East Berlin and the Landwirtschaftliche Zentralbibliothek of the Deutsche Akademie der Landwirtschaftswissenschaften, also in East Berlin.<sup>37</sup>

Although unpublished sources on the German Empire have been readily available for only a short time, historians have already drawn heavily upon them. While there is no intention of duplicating here the very useful surveys of recent writing on the Empire by John L. Snell and Henri Brunschwig,<sup>38</sup> the following works may be taken as representative of the extensive research now being done on the basis of unpublished sources. Rudolf Morsey based his important study of Bismarckian administrative practice primarily on sources in Potsdam and Merseburg, as did Hans-Günter Zmarzlik in his work on Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg's position in domestic politics before World War I.<sup>39</sup> Documents from the archives of certain former states of the Empire now in the Bundesrepublik (Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg) have been used extensively in Ernst Deuerlein's history of the Bundesrat Foreign Affairs Committee and Karl Erich Born's book on the imperial government's policy toward social welfare and trade-unions after Bismarck's resignation.<sup>40</sup> Otto Becker's massive new study of Bismarck drew on the author's extensive prewar researches in the Reichsarchiv, the Prussian archives, and several regional archives such as those of Bavaria and the Hanseatic cities. A definitive volume on the Prussian Staatsrat by Hans Schneider is based on official documents now in Merseburg and the Hauptarchiv in West Berlin.<sup>41</sup>

From East Germany have come several source collections based on the important archival materials at Potsdam and Merseburg, notably, a volume of documents on the origins of the *Kulturkampf*, a collection of letters between the Krupp and Hohenzollern families, two volumes of sources on the effects in Germany of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907, two volumes of records belonging to the Reichs-Commission that enforced Bismarck's antisocialist law between 1878 and 1890, and four volumes on the revolutionary currents

<sup>37</sup> Willi Boelcke, "Presseabteilungen und Pressearchive des Auswärtigen Amts, 1871-1945," *Archivmitteilungen*, IX (No. 2, 1959), 43-48; Günther Meyer, "Das Pressearchiv des Bundes der Landwirte (1893-1945)," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII (No. 5, 1959), 1121-23.

<sup>38</sup> John L. Snell, "Imperial Germany's Tragic Era, 1888-1918: Threshold to Democracy or Foreground of Nazism?" *Journal of Central European Affairs*, XVIII (Jan. 1959), 380-96, XIX (Apr. 1959), 57-75; Henri Brunschwig, "Bismarck et la diplomatie de l'Empire," *Revue historique*, CCXXII (Oct.-Dec. 1959), 311-30.

<sup>39</sup> Rudolf Morsey, *Die oberste Reichsverwaltung unter Bismarck, 1867-1890* (Münster, 1957); Hans-Günter Zmarzlik, *Bethmann Hollweg als Reichskanzler, 1909-1914* (Düsseldorf, 1957).

<sup>40</sup> Ernst Deuerlein, *Der Bundesratsausschuss für die Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, 1870-1918* (Regensburg, 1955); Karl Erich Born, *Staat und Sozialpolitik seit Bismarcks Sturz* (Wiesbaden, 1957).

<sup>41</sup> Otto Becker, *Bismarcks Ringen um Deutschlands Gestaltung*, ed. Alexander Scharff (Heidelberg, 1958); Hans Schneider, *Der Preussische Staatsrat 1817-1918* (Munich, 1952).

in the Empire between February 1917 and November 1918.<sup>42</sup> Monographs based on East German archival materials have also begun to appear in East Germany. Imperial Germany's colonial policy has been the subject of three recent studies.<sup>43</sup>

A history of the German naval command by Walther Hubatsch and a study of the Prussian army by Gordon Craig are among the works of military history that draw on unpublished sources now in the West.<sup>44</sup> Although the Heeresarchiv was almost entirely destroyed in the war, a few historians had begun work in its documents prior to their destruction. Heinrich Otto Meisner and Gerhard Ritter have published, on the basis of notes from earlier researches in the Heeresarchiv, short studies of the German military attachés in the imperial period.<sup>45</sup> Recent books by Werner Hahlweg and Z. A. B. Zeman covering German-Russian relations during the First World War have relied heavily on the German Foreign Office papers now in Bonn, as has also Bradford G. Martin's study of German-Persian relations.<sup>46</sup>

The increasing availability of personal papers has made possible many new studies. Klaus Epstein's biography of Matthias Erzberger and Harry Young's study of Maximilian Harden both rely on *Nachlässe* in the Koblenz Bundesarchiv.<sup>47</sup> Friedrich von Holstein has been the subject of much recent research. Certain of his own papers that were among the German Foreign Office documents captured by the American army are now being published.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Die Vorgeschichte des Kulturkampfes: Quellenveröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Zentralarchiv*, ed. Adelheid Constabel ([East] Berlin, 1956); *Krupp und die Hohenzollern*, ed. Willi Boelcke ([East] Berlin, 1956); *Die Auswirkungen der ersten russischen Revolution von 1905-1907*, ed. Leo Stern (2 vols., [East] Berlin, 1955-56); *Der Kampf der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in der Zeit des Sozialistengesetzes 1878-1890: Die Tätigkeit der Reichs-Commission*, ed. id. (2 vols., [East] Berlin, 1956); *Die Auswirkungen der grossen sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution auf Deutschland*, ed. id. (4 vols., [East] Berlin, 1959).

<sup>43</sup> Helmuth Stoecker, *Deutschland und China im 19. Jahrhundert: Das Eindringen des deutschen Kapitalismus* ([East] Berlin, 1958); Fritz-Ferdinand Müller, *Deutschland-Zanzibar-Ostafrika: Studien zur Geschichte einer deutschen Kolonialeroberung, 1884-1890* ([East] Berlin, 1959); Kurt Büttner, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Kolonialpolitik in Ostafrika* ([East] Berlin, 1959).

<sup>44</sup> Walther Hubatsch, *Der Admiralstab und die Oberste Marinebehörden in Deutschland 1848 bis 1945* (Frankfurt, 1958); Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army* (New York, 1955).

<sup>45</sup> Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Militärattachés und Militärbevollmächtigte in Preussen und im Deutschen Reich: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Militärdiplomatie* ([East] Berlin, 1957); Gerhard Ritter, "Die deutschen Militärattachés und das Auswärtige Amt: Aus den verbrannten Akten des Grossen Generalstabs," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (No. 1, Jahrgang 1959).

<sup>46</sup> *Lenins Rückkehr nach Russland, 1917: Die deutschen Akten*, ed. Werner Hahlweg (Leiden, 1957); *Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915-1918: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry*, ed. Z. A. B. Zeman (New York, 1958); Bradford G. Martin, *German-Persian Diplomatic Relations 1873-1912* (The Hague, 1959).

<sup>47</sup> Klaus W. Epstein, *Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy* (Princeton, N. J., 1959); Harry F. Young, *Maximilian Harden, Censor Germaniae: The Critic in Opposition from Bismarck to the Rise of Nazism* (The Hague, 1959).

<sup>48</sup> *The Holstein Papers, I, Memoirs and Political Observations; II, Diaries*, ed. Norman Rich and M. H. Fisher (2 vols., New York, 1955, 1957). Volume III, which is to contain

Helmuth Rogge, a leading Holstein authority whose experience with Holstein papers antedates the Second World War, has recently published books on Holstein's relations with Hohenlohe and Harden.<sup>49</sup> The former study is a publication of a part of the Holstein-Hohenlohe correspondence found among the Hohenlohe papers at the Hohenlohe archive in Schillingsfürst. J. Alden Nichols' study of Prussian and imperial politics under Chancellor Leo von Caprivi has drawn on the Caprivi *Nachlass* in the West Berlin Hauptarchiv.<sup>50</sup> Other recent books utilizing personal papers include an analysis of the relationship of Max Weber's life and work to German politics by Wolfgang Mommsen (not to be confused with the archivist of the same name at the Bundesarchiv) and a published version of a wartime diary by one of Emperor William II's military aides.<sup>51</sup>

The Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien is currently publishing a series of source collections containing documents on negotiations among Reichstag party factions in the 1912-1919 period. The first publication in the series, including source materials on party history from 1917 to 1918, has already appeared.<sup>52</sup>

There can be no doubt that historians of the German Empire now have an extraordinary range of unpublished sources available to them for research. The present inaccessibility of the East German archives is, of course, a serious obstacle to scholarship which we can only hope will soon be removed. Scholars, however, can still find in the West much valuable source material which is yet to be exploited in enlarging our knowledge of government and politics under the last three Hohenzollerns.

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a selection of the correspondence, has been announced for publication in the near future. The case of Holstein's personal papers illustrates the need for careful cross-checking when dealing with extensive *Nachlässe*. The Rich and Fisher edition of the papers does not mention the Holstein documents that were not among the Holstein papers in the captured German Foreign Office archives. *Ibid.*, I, xvi-xxvi. There is a Holstein *Nachlass* now in Potsdam, but it is not clear whether this collection includes anything in addition to the carbon copies of typed transcripts that Helmuth Rogge made in the 1930's. The original documents from which these transcripts had been made were among the captured Foreign Office (Whaddon Hall) papers. Lötze and Brather, *Übersicht*, 199; Morsey, *Die oberste Reichsverwaltung*, 325; *Holstein Papers*, ed. Rich and Fisher, I, xxii-xxiii. I found originals of Holstein letters in the *Nachlass* of Prince Bülow in the Koblenz Bundesarchiv and in the *Nachlass* of Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst in the family archive in Schillingsfürst.

<sup>49</sup> Helmuth Rogge, *Holstein und Hohenlohe* (Stuttgart, 1957), and *Holstein und Harden* (Munich, 1959).

<sup>50</sup> J. Alden Nichols, *Germany after Bismarck: The Caprivi Era 1890-1894* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

<sup>51</sup> Wolfgang Mommsen, *Max Weber und die deutsche Politik 1890-1920* (Tübingen, 1959); *Regierte der Kaiser? Kriegstagebücher, Aufzeichnungen und Briefe des Chefs des Marinekabinetts Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, 1914 bis 1918*, ed. Walter Görlich (Göttingen, 1959).

<sup>52</sup> *Der Interfraktionelle Ausschuss 1917-18*, ed. Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, 1. und 2. Teil (Düsseldorf, 1959). Further information about the Kommission, which is subsidized by the West German Federal Republic and sponsors as well as coordinates research on German political history between 1871 and 1933, may be obtained by writing the Sekretariat of the Kommission at Schedestrasse 9, Bonn/Rh.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General

GESCHICHTE DES GRIECHISCH-RÖMISCHEN ALTERTUMS. By *Ulrich Kahrstedt*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Volume II.] (2d ed.; Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1952. Pp. 590. DM 23.80.)

EUROPA IM ZEITALTER DES ABSOLUTISMUS, 1648-1789. By *Fritz Wagner*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Volume V.] (2d ed.; Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1959. Pp. x, 358. DM 22.)

GESCHICHTE DES ABENDLANDES VON DER FRANZÖSISCHEN REVOLUTION BIS ZUR GEGENWART, 1789-1945. By *Wilhelm Mommsen*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Volume VI.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. c. 1951. Pp. 628. DM 21.)

IN 1943 Verlag F. Bruckmann of Munich planned a *Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*; the first two volumes appeared in 1948, and the remaining seven during the ten years that followed. All the volumes, with the exception of II, V, and VI, listed above, have already been discussed individually in this journal: I, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* by Alexander Scharff and Anton Moortgat, AHR, LVII (Oct. 1951), 103-104; III, *Europa im Mittelalter* by Justus Hashagen, LVII (July 1952), 945-47; IV, *Europa im Zeitalter von Renaissance, Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1450-1650*, by Hellmuth Rössler, LXIII (Apr. 1958), 651-52; VII, *Geschichte Asiens* by Ernst Waldschmidt *et al.*, LVI (July 1951), 894-95; VIII, *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika: Werden der Weltmacht* by Ernst Samhaber, LX (July 1955), 981-82; and IX, *Geschichte Mittel- und Südamerikas* by Wilhelm Freiherr von Schoen, LIX (Jan. 1954), 406-408.

As the three volumes to be considered here complete the series, it is now possible to appraise the project as a whole. Prepared by fourteen German historians of repute, the nine volumes are fitted to serve as superior textbooks or as informative treatises for the intelligent lay reader. In general they are factual rather than interpretative. The authors have endeavored to utilize the fruits of recent scholarship and to achieve a balanced and objective presentation. Altogether, the volumes include some 5,300 pages, and the distribution of emphasis (estimated by continents) allows Europe about one-half, Asia one-fourth, the Americas one-fifth, and Africa one-twentieth of the total space.

Each volume has been handled as an independent unit and there is occasional,

but not excessive, overlapping. The tendency to concentrate on major regions and civilizations sometimes leads to confusion in the treatment of intermediate areas and reduces the significance of contacts and interchanges between continents and cultures. In the absence of cross references the reader has often to link up contemporaneous events for himself. The volumes do not attempt to suggest a general pattern or achieve a synthesis of world history. Nor do they follow a uniform pattern in their use of scholarly impedimenta: some include footnotes, bibliographies, maps, and chronological charts; some offer none of these aids.

As a whole, *Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen* runs to well over two million words and is distinguished by a succinct style and wealth of factual detail. A comparison with the Cambridge Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Histories suggests how definitely the Europocentric focus of half a century ago has been broadened. The authors have been less successful, however, in relating advances in science and technology to the course of historical development.

Of the three volumes not previously reviewed, Ulrich Kahrstedt's contribution, *Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Altertums*, dissects Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman society from about 700 B.C. to the death of Constantine in A.D. 337. In a manner reminiscent of Spengler, Kahrstedt traces the rise and decline of classical civilization as a great curve covering approximately one thousand years. Modern European civilization, as he sees it, is following a similar curve, as yet incomplete. His view "that Greco-Roman antiquity is a closed or self-contained development [*abgeschlossene Entwicklung*]" divides it too sharply from the civilizations that preceded, paralleled, or followed it. But within the limits he has set he presents the political, economic, and cultural evolution of the Greek states, the post-Alexandrian empires, and the expansion of Roman rule in explicit detail. The volume includes one map and a twenty-seven-page index but no footnotes or bibliography.

Fritz Wagner's *Europa im Zeitalter des Absolutismus, 1648-1789*, keeps war and politics in the foreground, concentrates on the leading states and statesmen, and all but ignores Italy, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and the Ottoman Empire. Economic and colonial developments earn short summaries and intellectual currents receive more adequate emphasis, but advances in science, technology, and agriculture are scant. Wagner has a gift for identifying the essential factors in a historical situation; his judgments are sound and realistic; his prose, interspersed with effective quotations, remains vigorous and readable despite its high compression. As a conventional and conscientious text on European history, 1648-1789, his volume merits sincere commendation despite a tendency to overpraise Hohenzollern statesmanship. It includes no maps, footnotes, or bibliography.

Wilhelm Mommsen, grandson of Theodor Mommsen, is the author of *Grösse und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums* and *Stein, Ranke und Bismarck*. His *Geschichte des Abendlandes, 1789-1945*, confines itself to European developments from 1789 to 1848, then broadens to include "the beginnings of a system of world states." Bismarck's policies are praised, those of William II and his advisers strongly

condemned because German involvement in the Balkans and in world politics led to 1914. Up to this point the discussion is balanced, luminous, and persuasive despite Mommsen's conservative sympathies. Unfortunately, after devoting over nine-tenths of his space to 1789-1914, he constricts the critical period 1914-1945 to thirty-five pages instead of reserving it for a further volume. As a companion to Wagner's text, Mommsen's volume is equally commendable for the nineteenth century, with the advantage of a heavier emphasis on international and global developments. It too omits footnotes, maps, and bibliography.

*Ithaca, New York*

GEOFFREY BRUUN

THEORIES OF HISTORY: READINGS FROM CLASSICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. Edited with introductions and commentary by *Patrick Gardiner*. [Free Press Textbooks in Philosophy.] (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 549. \$8.50.)

WAS IST UND WAS WILL DIE GEISTESGESCHICHTE: ÜBER THEORIE UND PRAXIS DER ZEITGEISTFORSCHUNG. By *Hans-Joachim Schoeps*. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. c. 1959. Pp. 133.)

THE first of these volumes, or the first half of it, should prove quite useful to that growing number of historians who feel that their students, at some point in their studies, should consider the philosophical implications of history. In this book of "Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources," Patrick Gardiner, a philosopher, finds such implications both in the epistemological presuppositions made unconsciously by historians and in the large interpretations of history made for the most part by nonhistorians. The first portion of the book, roughly half of it, should prove to be of greater worth in history classes than the second. The classical writings treated there range from Vico to Collingwood. Thirteen of them are interpretations of the historical process, while a mere four are devoted to what Gardiner rightly thinks has more recently become the principal concern in historical theory, "the nature of historical knowledge." In the first group are Vico, Kant, Herder, Condorcet, Hegel, Comte, Mill, Buckle, Marx, Plekhanov, Tolstoi, Spengler, and Toynbee. The second group includes Dilthey, Croce, Karl Mannheim, and Collingwood. The selections are "reasonably large extracts" from each of the authors—they average about fifteen pages each—and on the whole they are well chosen. A course in theories of history could well use them as its common core of reading.

The second half of the book, "Recent Views Concerning Historical Knowledge and Explanation," will leave some historians a bit dubious. They will be disturbed perhaps because Gardiner draws upon the writings of philosophers to the almost total exclusion of historians. They will be annoyed even more in some cases because the selections represent almost exclusively the dominant Anglo-American intellectual tradition of naturalism. As such, they reflect naturalism's preoccupa-



tion with principles derived from the analysis of the concepts and procedures of natural science. Gardiner puts it this way: "I have been largely concerned to show how the development of approaches and methods, which have proved fruitful in other areas of philosophical inquiry, have affected the treatment of problems raised by the theoretical examination of history." Some historians may not be happy to see history reduced in this way to a special case of science, albeit an anomalous one. Any who are familiar with the work that has been done recently in the great German historiographical tradition will find the lack of representative selections later than Dilthey a serious omission. The Anglo-American theorist of history might well learn from his German counterparts—from Nicolai Hartmann, Troeltsch, Meinecke, Walther Hofer, and others—that the principles he is looking for are to be discovered in history itself; they cannot be brought into history from science or anywhere else without doing violence to history's distinctive character.

Had Gardiner been looking for selections illustrative of the German tradition he might have found a typical one, though not a distinguished one, in the second of the books reviewed here. Hans-Joachim Schoeps has undertaken to define, describe, and even to prescribe a new discipline, *Geistesgeschichte*. American historians are likely to experience some difficulty understanding just what is signified by the term *Geistesgeschichte*. When they note that it seems much concerned with alterations of the *Zeitgeist*, they are likely to suspect in it a reappearance of Hegel's *Weltgeist* and to flee for refuge all the way to Gardiner's ghost-quelling naturalism. Schoeps does little to allay American fears of threatening German metaphysics, though he does specifically reject all metaphysical connotations of the *Zeitgeist*. His purpose is rather to elucidate and to justify a historical discipline that has arisen largely as a result of the continuing influence of Wilhelm Dilthey. This discipline has undertaken both the task of studying the totality of that which in any age is shared by individuals and makes of them recognizable members of their age and of tracing identifiable elements of this totality through a succession of ages or generations. Schoeps's interest and indeed his competence tend more to the practical than to the theoretical. Possibly the most informative section of his book is that which discusses the sources of *Geistesgeschichte*—sermons, tracts, encyclopedias, lexicons, biographies, autobiographies, journals, letters, and so on. But *Geistesgeschichte* is too large a subject to discuss in a review. Indeed it is too large to discuss intelligibly in a small book like that of Schoeps.

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A READER'S GUIDE TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by Bert F. Hoselitz. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. c. 1959. Pp. 256. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$2.95.)  
ETHICS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by Leo R. Ward, C.S.C.



(Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 127. \$3.25.)

THE time when an adequately explanatory survey of the ideas and writings of social scientists could be contained in one small volume is long since past, but *A Reader's Guide to the Social Sciences*, written primarily to inform librarians, should be useful to all scholars. While the reader seldom achieves a satisfying grasp of a new concept or theory the various authors are able to indicate the importance of certain ideas, their place in the science, historically as well as currently, and the best sources for more information.

Of the eight essays, three, including a history of the social sciences over the last two hundred years, are by the editor. These involve a truly remarkable display of erudition in both *English and European literature*. When he reaches the present, Mr. Hoselitz seems too optimistic about the theoretical solidity of the social sciences. On page twenty, for example, he says: "There is to-day little dispute about basic theory either in economics or psychology," whereas Walter R. Reitman on the concluding page of his survey of psychology says: "The net effect is a literature which in many important areas is almost totally confused, congested and non-additive. The proverbial wheels of progress spin, but the gears don't mesh." In the social sciences, as in medicine, there still seems room for disagreement as to what is fundamental.

Historians presumably will not need to refer as often to Hoselitz' essay on their subject as to the discussions of other social sciences. For the period to 1930 the chapter provides a good survey of historical writing in the Western world, although American historians may object to dismissing Turner in nine lines and omitting discussion of Beard's influence. From a world view these are minor matters. But in failing to explore the issues or achievements of the last thirty years in American historiography the essay does not parallel the explanations of recent American development contained in the remaining chapters.

While specialists in each discipline will probably take exception to some parts of these essays, just as I have in the case of history, the chapters on the other social sciences, including geography, seem uniformly good. On economics, for example, Hoselitz is broadly informed and penetrating. A specialist in comparative economic development, he notes that even in the case of cultures as similar as those of America and Britain, "the entire form of argument, exposition and validation of propositions in these [economic]works is contingent upon the value structure generally acknowledged in these countries."

Relation of the value structure to social science theory and practice is the main theme of *Ethics and the Social Sciences*, comprised of six papers prepared in 1957 for a conference at the University of Notre Dame. The essays, by four Catholics and two Protestants, range widely over pure and applied social science. As might be expected, the authors differ regarding the place of dogmatic theology.

In the opening paper Francis G. Wilson attacks "liberal" or "behavioral" social scientists for failure to find a place for the values of Thomistic philosophy in their methods and for assisting Communism by joining in the United Front of the 1930's, by "campaigning against the Dies Committee . . . and, finally, in 'breaking' Senator McCarthy. . . ." Throughout the chapter the reader feels that Wilson is disturbed by and fearful of the effects of empirically oriented social science. But neither Christopher Dawson nor Herbert Johnson see any necessary conflict between the social sciences and Catholic theology. "Moral philosophy" should establish the social end to be pursued, the social sciences supply the facts and hypotheses that will serve as means.

David Bidney and Kenneth Boulding both discuss the place left for values in their schemes of social science analysis. Bidney posits a metacultural reality, but his supracultural values are based on "their consequences for human well being," for helping man to realize "his highest potentialities." Boulding explains his own psychological concept of "image," a term that he uses to cover a wide range of psychic processes. His discussion of the "value image" is on a theoretical level that does not involve particular theologies.

From experience in discussions at the Wesleyan University Institute of Ethics and Politics James R. Brown defines the issues involved in an ethical approach to political and other practical social issues. His discussion emphasizes by its omission a key problem not dealt with in any of the essays: in the history of Western Europe and the United States the verbal conflicts of social scientists or the bloodier struggles of armed forces have seldom been between upholders of religion and ethics on the one side and atheistic materialists on the other, but usually between religious men with different backgrounds and interests. For their own inner good men need consciously held values, but firm values neither insure, nor perhaps even encourage, harmonious conduct.

*University of Pennsylvania*

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE: AN INTRODUCTION. By  
L. W. H. Hull. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xi,  
340. \$5.00.)

DESCRIBED as an attempt "to bridge the gap between science and the humanities by considering scientific ideas in a context of history and philosophy," this is a very old-fashioned book. The point of view and the general level of the author's information correspond to the late Victorian period. The result is that the book as a whole is of questionable value for the history student or the scientist and is worthless for historians of science.

The presentation of "early science" exemplifies the level of scholarly information. Ignoring a half century of astonishingly fruitful research, the author repeats all the ancient errors, as that the Egyptians knew that the three-four-five triangle

contains a right angle (for which the evidence is actually negative), that they used this triangle in surveying, and that therefore "the famous theorem about the squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle was known to these people long before Pythagoras." At the same time, the author omits the fantastic discoveries recently determined to have been made in Mesopotamia in astronomy and in mathematical thought, which have revised and made precise our notions of the true character of Greek scientific originality. Another subject of fruitful historical research that is completely ignored is the development of mathematics and physics (notably statics and kinematics) in the late Middle Ages, chiefly the twelfth to fourteenth centuries—all of which is included in an old-fashioned and long-outmoded view of "dark ages" when a "dismal state of things endured for centuries in the west."

In a similar vein Copernicus is praised for "the most daring step." The author learnedly points out that "There is no mention of Aristarchus, but no doubt Copernicus knew of him" and eleven pages later alleges that the editor of Copernicus' book "Osiander struck out references to Aristarchus." The old errors persist here, as that the Copernican system was "simpler" than the Ptolemaic; while new ones are added, as that Copernicus wrote the preface to *The Revolutions*, that the "third motion" of the earth is the precession, or that Tycho "improved" the Copernican system.

The reader will no doubt be surprised, as I was, to find that the work of Priestley and of Lavoisier is considered among "other developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," that the eighteenth century is all but completely omitted, and that the chapter on the nineteenth century deals exclusively with evolution. Then, a bare ten pages suffice for the twentieth century, all relatively modern and recent philosophy of science being discarded. Such a book hardly can satisfy any serious historian in this country because his view of almost any aspect of the history of science is bound to be better informed and more critical than the one he will encounter here. Thus it is difficult indeed to conceive of the class of people for whom it was intended.

*Harvard University*

I. BERNARD COHEN

STUDIES PRESENTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS. Volume XVIII, Xth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES, ROME, 1955. (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. 259. 290 fr. B.)

THE eighteenth volume of this series contains eight papers read at the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Rome in 1955, together with four other contributions and a sketch of the activities of the International Commission in the years 1952-1958 by Professor E. Lousse. Miss Helen Cam, presi-

dent of the Commission, contributes a preface summarizing the volume's contents. As she observes, members of the Commission today are more interested in the interrelations of theory and practice, as revealed by the works of jurists and publicists, and in the structure and functions of assemblies. A generation ago the balance of interest was in institutional origins.

Two of the papers are by American scholars. Professor Caroline Robbins poses the question, once more, of why the English Parliament survived the Age of Absolutism, and then analyzes the answers to this question given by writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her historiographical essay is an interesting study of "comparative history" as it emerges from several dozen historical, philosophical, and polemical works.

Of equal interest is the essay by Gavin I. Langmuir on "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," in which some important distinctions are drawn. Not only was the *Curia Regis* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries concerned only with judicial business; nonjudicial consultations, in which the king took counsel on matters of great import, occurred only at assemblies that were *ad hoc*, informal, and not to be thought of as "expanded sessions of the *curia regis*." Service of court, the *Curia Regis*, had nothing to do with the king's obligation to consult and the vassal's obligation to give counsel. Counsel is thus removed from any institutional context: "the emphasis is still on the function and not the institution."

Another distinction is drawn between counsel (frequently sought, to ensure the wisdom of a decision) and consent (infrequently sought, only when a decision might affect the rights of those consenting). This formula may fit the evidence in Capetian France, but it is interesting that the English Chancery seemed unaware of such a distinction. Magna Carta, c.12, for example, employs the phrase *per commune consilium* where *consensus* alone would fit Langmuir's formula; in John's charter of 1214 on free elections the granting clause reads *liberaliter mera et spontanea voluntate, de communi consensu baronum nostrorum, concessimus*; and again, in 1213 John had conceded his realm to be held as a fief of the pope *nostra bona spontaneaue voluntate ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum*. It would appear, at least on the English side, to be difficult to fit counsel and consent into neat and mutually exclusive categories. Perhaps what Langmuir regrets to be, among modern historians, "a thorough confusion of counsel and consent" may turn out to be less confused and more nearly a just appreciation of the "fusion" of concepts typical of the high Middle Ages than his interpretation can explain or allow.

University of Minnesota

ROBERT S. HOYT

ESSAIS SUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN EUROPE (PREMIÈRE SÉRIE). By *Maurizio Alciator et al.* Under the direction of and with an introduction by *Robert Pelloux*. [Bibliothèque Européenne, published under the

- auspices of l'Institut Universitaire d'Études Européennes de Turin, Volume I.] (Turin: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, G. Giappichelli; Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence. 1959. Pp. vii, 180.)
- LE POUVOIR. Volume I. By *R. McKeon et al.* [Institut International de Philosophie Politique, Annales de Philosophie politique, Number 1.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. xii, 177. 600 fr.)
- LE POUVOIR. Volume II, THÉORIE. By *G. Davy et al.* [Institut International de Philosophie Politique, Annales de Philosophie politique, Number 2.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 213. 720 fr.)
- LE DROIT NATUREL. By *H. Kelsen et al.* [Institut International de Philosophie Politique, Annales de Philosophie politique, Number 3.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. 229. 960 fr.)

In the first essay of the two-volume symposium *Le Pouvoir* Richard McKeon observes that the language of political science was clearer in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it is today, clearer, that is, to the educated minority in Europe and America with their similar backgrounds and problems than today's political vocabulary is to its global audience with their diverse educations and their innumerable combinations of human and material circumstances. The men of the Enlightenment did not foresee the strains to which wider communications and deeper experience would subject their categories. Their descendants, among them the authors of the above books, have persevered, however. They have set up some classifications that make sense in Western Europe, America, and scattered parts of the world, and they are able to converse intelligibly with each other, and hope in the future to widen the discussion.

The three volumes issued under the auspices of the Institut International de Philosophie Politique are the work of some two dozen Europeans and Americans of the first rank. On the subject of power one finds, among others, Carl J. Friedrich's discussion of constitutionalism, Jean-Jacques Chevallier's study of the English Utilitarians, Jacques Maritain's paper on democracy and authority, Herbert W. Schneider's essay on power and duty, and Arnold Zürcher's reflections on leadership. The volume devoted to *Droit naturel* consists mainly of philosophical analysis, of which the first 123 pages are a tightly reasoned survey of the possible avenues to justice; in the end the author, Hans Kelsen, refuses to evaluate positive law by means of natural law. His essay, together with shorter ones by Ch. Perelmann, Norberto Bobbio, Marcel Prélôt, Ch. Eisenmann, and others, amounts to a seminar in jurisprudence. The *Essais sur les droits de l'homme en Europe*, also international in authorship, were sponsored by the Institut Universitaire d'Études Européennes de Turin. The objective is comparative study of institutions, and the material is for the most part refreshingly different, the sort of thing one could not easily lay one's hand on were this book not available. There are descriptions of theories and facts concerning individual liberty under the constitutions of Italy,

Belgium, Great Britain, Switzerland, Austria, and West Germany. France is missing (promised for a later volume), but there is important French material in an essay on "La liberté d'opinion du fonctionnaire en droit comparé européen," just as elsewhere there are useful case studies of the outlawing of the Neo-Nazi and Communist parties in West Germany. All of the essays in this collection were written in awareness of two standards for comparison: the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Rights of Man and of Fundamental Liberties signed by the members of the Council of Europe in November 1950. The United Nations Declaration is a reminder of aspirations toward universal standards still far beyond reach. On the other hand the nations of the original Enlightenment are shown to have broadened their conceptions of human rights. The Italian constitution of 1947 is a remarkable document which compares favorably with the United Nations Declaration. Like the latter, it contains passages in which controversial subjects are hidden behind imprecise wording, and some of its principles still need implementation by legislation, but it is a far cry from the *Statuto* of 1848. Great Britain, now a welfare state, is striving to extend legal traditions of justice and equity to its multitudinous administrative decisions. Switzerland still enshrines *laissez faire* in principle, while Austria and Belgium have kept social benefits out of their constitutional guarantees, but all three of these states have adopted welfare legislation piecemeal. One is struck by the similarities and differences in these constitutions: if the problems and their solutions are to some extent similar, the legal traditions revealed when a particular situation is explained are always unique. Compare, for example, Hilary Cartwright's article on Great Britain with Theo Kündig's and Ernest Aellig's essays about Switzerland, especially with reference to political parties aiming at the overthrow of the state. But circumstances count too: compare Marc Chartier's article on outlawing parties in West Germany with Antoine Frassetto's material on French toleration of Communist civil servants.

As an appendix to this collection of special studies there is a useful outline of a course given by the editor, Professor Robert Pelloux of the University of Lyon, at the Institut Universitaire d'Études Européennes de Turin. This logical arrangement of the problems having to do with liberty might well serve as a bridge between the institutional materials of the *Essais sur les droits de l'homme* and the philosophical discussions of the volumes on *Pouvoir* and *Droit naturel*. Historians will perhaps feel more at home with the institutions, but will recognize in the other volumes a wealth of intellectual history, together with an accounting of the current status of some celebrated beliefs of past times when it was expected that reason and liberty would quickly tour the world.

*Swarthmore College*

PAUL H. BEIK



A REAPPRAISAL OF FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1830-1871. By *Henry Blumenthal*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 255. \$6.00.)

"THE myth of the uninterrupted historic friendship between France and the United States has been perpetuated in spite of the overwhelming evidence against it. The two countries moved from one controversy to another during the period from the July Revolution to the end of the Franco-Prussian War and established a long record of wars that did not occur. . . ." These two sentences from the conclusion of Mr. Blumenthal's monograph summarize its content in a nutshell. It may be questioned whether the "myth" has been quite so persistent as the phrasing suggests, but whatever vitality remains to it should succumb to the author's presentation of the results of his thorough investigations. It appears from his bibliography and footnotes that his research had led him into virtually every likely depository of relevant material in France and the United States. His organization of material is topical from 1830 to the American Civil War. Four chapters deal with the effects of republican ideology, general diplomatic relations, specific "Franco-American incidents," and economic relations. Then follow three chapters on "The Civil War and France," "The Maximilian Affair," "The United States and the Franco-Prussian War," and a short "Conclusion." The general picture presented is one of chronic mutual distrust and suspicion. French monarchical governments, whether under Louis Philippe or Napoleon III, suspected the United States of plans to conquer the world for democracy and identified this supposed objective with its expansionist ambitions in the Western Hemisphere. The attempts of such French governments, working when possible in conjunction with England, to "contain" the United States were well known in America and were productive of distrust and dislike on this side of the ocean. Periods of republican government in France, 1848 to 1851 and after the fall of Napoleon III, brought expressions of ideological compatibility and talk of republican alliances. That the United States maintained its position of cool neutrality toward France and Prussia after the fall of Napoleon III produced bitter resentment in French republican circles. The chapter on "The United States and the Franco-Prussian War" seemed to this reviewer the most valuable. Those on the Civil War and Maximilian, though well done, present little of importance that is new on these well-worked episodes, and the earlier chapters, treating rather trivial matters in great detail, make tiresome reading. Perhaps it is captious to complain that the author repeatedly refers to the United States as "the Union" and that he says "disinterested" when he means "uninterested," but it is unfortunate that he should refer to the journalist and diplomat John L. O'Sullivan, author of the phrase "Manifest Destiny," as I. L. O'Sullivan.

*Hobart and William Smith Colleges*

JULIUS W. PRATT



SMOKE IN THE HILLS: POLITICAL TENSION IN THE MOROGORO DISTRICT OF TANGANYIKA. By *Roland Young* and *Henry Fosbrooke*. [Northwestern University African Studies, Number 4.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. c. 1960. Pp. xii, 212. \$5.50.)

AFRICA: ITS PEOPLES AND THEIR CULTURE HISTORY. By *George Peter Murdock*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1959. Pp. xiii, 456. \$8.75.)

BOTH of these books deal with the history of Africa, and both were written by scholars who are not, at least in a narrowly professional sense, historians. Here the similarity ends. Young and Fosbrooke treat their subject in microcosm, with an approach that is narrow in time, place, and emphasis. They have set out to examine the political institutions and political history of the Luguru people (only 200,000 out of the eight million in modern Tanganyika), and their detailed discussion covers only the past fifteen years. Real depth of analysis is only possible, perhaps, in a narrow field of this kind, and their contribution is more important than the narrow limits of the subject might indicate. The authors are concerned with the interaction between the segmentary political institutions of a "tribe without rulers" and the hierarchically organized bureaucracy created by the Western administration. Their study is, therefore, enlightening on the operations of "indirect rule" in many other parts of Africa, though they refuse, quite correctly, to generalize from the evidence gathered in their single case study.

From the point of view of the historian, however, their book is not quite satisfying. It is oriented toward solving problems of the immediate future by examining the failures of the immediate past. Its span in time is too short to illuminate fully the process of change in African society during the colonial period. The authors are too much concerned with the way in which the future may grow out of the present to do the best possible job of showing how the present grew out of the past. Still, historians have no legitimate complaint. As long as they neglect the study of African history, they must continue to be grateful for the crumbs that drop from the table of the other social scientists; and this work is a valuable contribution to the study of recent change in Africa.

Professor Murdock's work, on the other hand, deals with African history in macrocosm, presenting not only a description of African cultures as they were on the eve of the European invasions but also an account of the broader aspects of culture history during the previous seven thousand years. It has some characteristics of a textbook, but it is not merely a work designed to summarize the findings of others. The book is based on the multitude of individual studies by archaeologists and anthropologists, but it moves far from the specific and local in reinterpreting the main lines of African development.

Murdock's principal contribution is the originality and boldness of synthesis and interpretation, but these same elements are also its major weakness—and

perhaps that of any work of this kind. He sets out, explicitly ignoring the existing hypotheses, to present a new synthesis without first demolishing the older ones. The enormous span and scope of the work, furthermore, makes it impossible for him to defend his new interpretations at length. There are no footnotes; therefore it is difficult and sometimes impossible to check the authorities on which his interpretations are based. We are left with an extremely interesting and often challenging set of suggestions, to which the only possible verdict is "not proven."

In spite of this difficulty, and in spite of many errors in detail, Murdock's survey is the best thing of its kind now available in English. It must be used with care, however, and it is likely to be superseded in the near future, both in detail and as a whole. To say this is not to minimize the real value of Murdock's contribution. He deserves full credit for his achievement—and for his courage.

*University of Wisconsin*

PHILIP D. CURTIN

## Ancient and Medieval

HELLENISTIC CIVILIZATION AND THE JEWS. By *Victor Tcherikover*.

Translated by *S. Applebaum*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1959. Pp. vii, 566. \$6.00.)

THIS is a notable book, and since few scholars could use it in its original Hebrew version, we must be very grateful to Dr. Applebaum and to the Jewish Publication Society for making it generally available at a modest price. It is nothing less than an attempt to see through Jewish eyes the three centuries of Hellenistic history and the process of acculturation known as Hellenism in the light of all the sources. An introduction sets the stage: this is a study of cultural contact. Thereafter the treatment of "Hellenistic Civilization" is broken down into two major sections, in Palestine and in the Diaspora (actually in Egypt only, due to the nature of the evidence). In each section there is a survey of political history in so far as it relates to the problem, a study of urbanization, society, economics, and the cultural climate. There follow four appendixes dealing with detailed problems, 124 pages of notes, a short bibliography, and an inadequate index. It is a major contribution to one of the most difficult periods and problems in ancient history, and it will be widely used and discussed.

The author was well qualified for his task. He had worked extensively with the city planning and foundations of the Hellenistic period and with the relations between Egypt and Palestine in the third century B.C. More recently he collaborated in the publication of a *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, and as a professor in Israel had the opportunity to know the area and the cultural problems of Judaism in its own independent state as well as elsewhere. His death has been a serious loss to

our discipline, but we are fortunate in this volume to have a full expression of his views on so important a topic.

I do not dwell on the historical side. In a work of synthesis one is compelled to generalize, and there is probably no area of history where generalization is more dangerous. The length of time, the varied geography and history, the variety and complexity of experience, and the unevenness and general inadequacy of the sources make the period a difficult one. Small areas of intense illumination are separated by wide stretches of almost total darkness. No reader will agree with everything, but the author's familiarity with the papyri gives him insight, and I am everywhere impressed with his imagination and sound judgment. His reconstruction of the background and course of the Hasmonaeen revolt seems to me brilliant. He argues convincingly that the religious question was not primary: the issue was originally political and social, and it was only when the Hasidim rose against the Hellenizers that Jewish worship was forbidden. Later, in an oddly similar way, the Pharisees were driven into opposition to the Hasmonaeen dynasty, which accepted the legal philosophy of the Sadducees; it was rich against poor, the city against the country again, although at that point all claimed to be orthodox.

The problem of the Diaspora is treated with an understanding born of experience. Philo wrote that one country could not support all of the Jews, and that may have been as much true in his day as it is at present, but the author takes (if I understand him) the expansion of population to be a result rather than a cause. The first Diaspora was compulsory, to Babylonia and to Egypt. Thereafter arose the cultural problem: Jewish communities established, as the Emperor Claudius wrote, "in cities not their own." The Jews were tenacious of their ancestral ways, which included certain self-governing institutions; although attracted by Greek rationalism, they tried to base their conduct on the fear of God. Anti-Semitism was (according to the author) the inevitable consequence, the only solution being an in-gathering of the exiles. The experience of Zionism is evidently influential here.

The volume is not only a study of Judaism. Every student of Hellenism will read and meditate with profit on the question: What was the culture of the Greeks in their own Hellenistic Diaspora? As the author points out, they were not all, perhaps less and less, Greek in blood, not all "cultured," or even much educated. What was the mentality of the Hellenistic Greeks? Even after Rostovtzeff's monumental volumes, we still seek a solution. We have little direct evidence for their impact on other nationalities and cultures, but we may see something of them through the eyes of Jews, ancient and modern.

*Yale University*

C. BRADFORD WELLES

HISTOIRE DE LA GAULE ROMAINE (120 AVANT J.-C.-451 APRÈS J.-C.): COLONISATION OU COLONIALISME? By J. J. Hatt. Preface by Jérôme Carcopino. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1959. Pp. 405. 2,800 fr.)

MORE than thirty years have passed since the publication of the eighth and last volume of Camille Jullian's monumental *Histoire de la Gaule*. Even today no one-volume work can replace it, and Professor Hatt does not aim at doing so. Since then, however, many books and articles have appeared, especially in archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics, that add to the information at Jullian's disposal and sometimes require new interpretation of the evidence that he had. A short and readable history of Gaul from the Roman to the Germanic invasions is thus welcome. Popular opinion also has changed. "Colonialism" is an ugly word, even when it means no more than a hesitancy to turn a government over to savages. A reappraisal of the Roman experience in Gaul is thus all the more meaningful.

Gallic resistance to Rome was long and bitter, particularly in the north and east, where the tribes were not already partly Romanized or Hellenized, but the Roman annexation, once completed, was a great success for both nations. Relieved from fear of the Germans and mollified by the grant of self-government and Roman citizenship, the Gallic upper classes at least were won over and their loyalty to the Empire rarely wavered. Separatist movements, led by the frontier legions or the semi-Germanized peoples of the north, found little support among the nobility or the urban middle class of the south. The Gauls might take up arms in behalf of their own candidate for the purple, such as Albinus, Constantine, or Julian, but the majority did not want independence. The Gallic Empire of Postumus was created by the troops on the frontiers. The urbanized south accepted it only because the central government of Gallienus was unable even to maintain order in Gaul, much less protect it from the Germans. Tetricus, the last Gallic ruler, literally fell into the arms of Aurelian, the restorer of the unity of the Empire. The Gallic upper classes never wholly lost faith in the imperial ideal. Even in the catastrophes of the fifth century, when German tribes were streaming through Gaul and whole districts were in the hands of the outlaw bands of the Bagaudae, the surviving literature shows that its writers were still pathetically confident that the worst was already over and that the Empire would rise again in glory.

Hatt writes well and has a wide knowledge of his material, although he seems more at home in the French and German literature than in the English. He might have profited by the use of Percy Webb's study of the coins of the Gallic Empire in Volume V, Part II of Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, and A. N. Sherwin-White's analysis of the attitude of the provincials to the Empire in *The Roman Citizenship*. But he has independently reached many of their conclusions.

University of Louisville

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

DAS ZEITALTER IUSTINIANS. Volume I. By *Berthold Rubin*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1960. Pp. xiv, 539.)

THIS is the first volume of an important work on the Age of Justinian which, when completed, will comprise four volumes. The first volume emphasizes the nature and origin of the political ideology current in sixth-century Byzantium. An introductory part focuses on ancient ideas of kingship which it traces from the monarchies of the most ancient East to the reign of Justinian's uncle and predecessor, Justin I. The second section discusses the personalities of Justinian and of his famous wife Theodora. The following chapter is entirely devoted to the imperial idea and to the program of the opposition. Here Rubin analyzes the constitutional basis of Justinian's power (divine grace, *lex regia*, and so on), the principal attributes of imperial power (again divine grace, imperial providence for the Empire, imperial fortune and victory), and the propagandistic aspects of Justinian's legislation (here the author breaks entirely new ground). The chapter closes with a long section on the literature of the age viewed from the point of view of the writers' political attitudes toward Justinian's regime.

Rubin's treatment of Procopius is particularly original. He shows that Procopius accepts the official imperial ideology, but, as spokesman for a group of conservative military officers, bureaucrats, senators, and large landowners, objects violently to Justinian's applications of this ideology in foreign, military, and domestic matters. Rubin successfully demonstrates this tendency even in Procopius' *Buildings* and *Wars*, but of course it finds its clearest expression in the *Secret History*. He shows convincingly that Procopius' criticism of the regime culminates in an "apocalyptic" view according to which Justinian as Antichrist wages aggressive war, depopulates the Empire, and mercilessly exploits his subjects. This apocalyptic view of Emperor and Empire emerges as the culmination of a long literary tradition of political opposition traced by Rubin from Tacitus throughout the Byzantine period down to the Russia of Ivan the Terrible. The fourth and final chapter is a detailed narrative and analysis of Justinian's eastern politics and warfare.

It is difficult to give adequate notice of the wealth of information and especially of the fresh and suggestive ideas presented by the author. Text and more than twelve hundred footnotes, some of them excursuses of more than twenty pages (e.g., on the works of art depicting Justinian; publication [*propositio*] of Justinian's laws; Procopius' "apocalypse") are mines of substantive and bibliographical information. The illustrations are good; some of the maps, however, are so crowded as to be of little use. Rubin is at his best where, as he himself declares, the experience of the Nazi period has sharpened his historical understanding of the official propaganda of an autocratic regime and of the fanatic but usually muted voice of the opposition. To judge by this first volume, a new appraisal of Justinian's policy will emerge from Rubin's work: by reconquering the West at a horrible

cost to both Byzantium and the West, Justinian missed a great historical opportunity, that of winning over and seizing political leadership in the West through an alliance with the Germanic kingdoms, notably with Ostrogothic Italy. Yet the Hitler period has also left its imprint on Rubin's work in less desirable ways. The style is often metaphorical and prolix in the extreme and makes considerable demands on the reader's powers of perseverance. The lessons of the Nazi and postwar periods guide Rubin in the posing of historical problems, in his narrative, and in his analysis—surely a legitimate procedure. They also give occasion to footnotes, excursuses, and even lengthy insertions in the text, a practice that is highly questionable as it distracts the reader's attention from sixth-century Byzantium. More dangerous is a tendency to apply racial theories: Justinian belongs to the Dinaric race; Theodora's appearance demonstrates that she did not have "Nordic blood"; a very favorable evaluation of the potentials of the Germanic world, especially of the Ostrogoths, permeates the volume and affects its main thesis as explained above. The work, then, must be used with caution, but it is safe to predict that it will become an indispensable tool for students of late antiquity and be a notable challenge to research. It is hoped that Rubin will be able to complete his great project within a reasonable time.

University of Michigan

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, 1307-1399. By *May McKisack*. [The Oxford History of England, Volume V.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xix, 598. \$8.00.)

THE great gap in the Oxford History of England, which covered all the later medieval centuries, is at last almost filled. With the appearance of Professor McKisack's volume only the fifteenth century is left, and Dr. Jacob is well on his way to completing this difficult assignment.

Professor McKisack has written the best survey of fourteenth-century England that we possess. Her book is clear, well organized, and very readable. Though she has limited herself to little more than five hundred pages, she has dealt with all the important problems, and her chapters never seem compressed or hurried.

The author's own research has made her an expert on many phases of fourteenth-century politics. In addition, she has consulted all the important works on the period; the only apparent omission is Gray's *Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation*. Her judgments on controversial issues are always moderate, which means that they have a good chance of being sound. In spite of her generously acknowledged debt to Maude Clarke, Professor McKisack does not accept all her teacher's theories about the origins of impeachment or the significance of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*. She likewise rejects the extreme interpretations of other scholars of the Statute of York or the crisis of 1340-1341. In short,



the student can be sure that in most cases this book gives him the opinion held by the majority of scholars.

Yet while there is good authority for each separate statement in the text, the over-all impression left by the book seems to me somewhat misleading. There is no sense of strain or crisis, no suggestion that the foundations of English government and English society were threatened. Professor McKisack is quite aware that there were serious political, economic, and social problems in fourteenth-century England, but she treats each one as a separate episode instead of placing them in a general pattern of deterioration. As a result everything seems to be developing smoothly and normally with only transitory setbacks, and the fourteenth century looks much like the thirteenth.

To be specific, Professor McKisack apparently does not believe that there was a dangerous increase in the power of the aristocracy or that the aristocracy used this power unwisely and with little sense of responsibility. She praises the ability of Edward III to hold the loyalty of his magnates without admitting that he did this by yielding to them at home and by waging futile wars abroad. She admires the efficiency of the new system of military indentures without mentioning its dangers. She minimizes the influence of the magnates on the Commons. She notes the rise of the justices of the peace without suggesting that this may have weakened the control of the central government over local affairs.

This all depends, of course, on the feeling that each scholar develops about the characteristics of a given period. It is quite possible that the fourteenth century was less disastrous than I think and that Professor McKisack is right in stressing continuity rather than instability. In any case, she has written an interesting book, and one that will be useful for a long time to come.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

PETRARCH'S LATER YEARS. By *Ernest H. Wilkins*. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication Number 70.] (Cambridge, Mass.: the Academy. 1959. Pp. xiv, 322. \$8.00.)

THIS work is a continuation of the author's *Petrarch's Eight Years in Milan* (1958) and carries out with equal success the task of determining the chronological order of Petrarch's literary work and the spiritual experiences that shaped it during the years 1361-1374. Petrarch was most active during this closing period of his life in revising and sifting, with an eye to the judgment of posterity, the literary production of a lifetime. The chronological succession of the letters of these years (the later *Familiars* and the *Seniles*) was disturbed on occasion by the poet's efforts to obtain a topical grouping or to link variations of a central theme. The personal experiences and impressions that encouraged such groupings may be best illustrated, perhaps, from the years 1361-1362. During his mission to Paris in 1361 Petrarch had contended, in conversations with his friend Pierre Bersuire,



that the current military misfortunes of France and Italy were assignable to the decay of *mores* and *disciplina* in their armed forces, and not to the vagaries of *Fortuna*, "nudum et inane nomen" (*Fam.* XXII, 14). The promise then given to explain the causes of Italy's military decline was discharged in *Fam.* XXIII, 1, in which Petrarch lamented the moral decline which permitted small bands of *condottieri* to devastate the fairest provinces of the country. His appeal to Charles IV in the same letter to suppress these mercenary troops introduced the theme of a renewed intervention of the Emperor in Italy, which formed the main motif of the following letter (*Fam.* XXIII, 2). Finally, Petrarch's invective against the *condottieri* reflected the mounting indignation of his fellow residents in Milan, mercilessly taxed by Galeazzo Visconti to meet the cost of his growing army of foreign mercenaries.

The temporary deterioration of Petrarch's relations with the Emperor Charles IV in the early 1360's might also have received proportionate emphasis. There is little doubt that Petrarch's failure to fulfill his promise of 1362 to appear in Prague had excited some irritation there. Hence the poet's remonstrance against the use of the second plural form of address by the Imperial Chancellor Jan ze Středa was not based merely on grammatical grounds, but was also a reproach for the chancellor's abandonment of the more intimate second person singular form. The letter should be related to *Fam.* XXIII, 16, which revealed a fruitless effort by Jan to restore Petrarch to the imperial favor.

The author has cast a wide net for his bibliography, and few items have escaped him. For the disputed date of *Sen.* XVI, 1, reference might have been made to Giovanni de Caesaris, *Una lettera di Francesco Petrarca a Luca de Penna* (1937). Petrarch's friend Pietro Pileo has been the subject of a biography by P. Stacul, *Il cardinale Pileo da Prato* (1957). But these are trivial matters in relation to the real achievement of the author, who has charted the physical and intellectual itinerary of Petrarch in the evening of his life with meticulous accuracy and scholarship.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

## Modern Europe

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL: A HISTORY. By James A. Williamson. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. c. 1959. Pp. 381. \$6.00.)

In this readable volume Britain's leading maritime historian uses the English Channel as the base from which to develop the history of the English coast of the Channel "and the activities upon it of nature and man, from the shaping of the coast in ancient times to the making of the holiday resorts in modern." This, from the author's preface, well expresses the scope of the volume. Within that frame-

work it is a part of the broader history of England itself, much of which can only be indicated in general terms. Although it does have a limited scope it is a real contribution, helpful in reaching a better understanding of English history as a whole.

To cover eight thousand years of history in a single volume requires careful selection of material and strict adherence to the selected scope if the result is to be worthwhile. Less than one-fifth of the volume is devoted to the period before 1066. After that fateful year the tempo increases and we are exposed to life, people, and events as we are led through history to the present. Even though much of it is derived from deduction medieval historians should find plausible the author's explanation of why and how William the Conqueror selected Hastings in advance as his base of operations for the invasion of England. After covering this great event the author is on firmer ground for documentation. The volume has no formal bibliography but authority or source is indicated either in the text or by appropriate footnote. In his coverage of the rise and decline of the Cinque Ports, the evolution of the western Channel ports, the development of seagoing ships, the expansion of English trade and of English interests to the New World and overseas, and the wars and events of modern times, the author does not stray from his chosen pattern. His self-discipline in this respect is a tribute to his skill in handling the material of maritime history. He writes from a lifelong and intimate knowledge of the region. The reader develops the feeling that this is a work of love, a feature that gives the volume a special charm.

The reader senses a quality of intimacy with the subject matter of the work without being able to describe it, explain it, or even point out examples. While it was written for the general reader rather than the professional historian it is solid history and a substantial contribution to the broader history of England.

*Newport, Rhode Island*

BERN ANDERSON

LOCAL HISTORY IN ENGLAND. By *W. G. Hoskins*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xi, 196. \$5.00.)

THE most distinguished of contemporary English local historians has produced a manual on the writing of local history. Although the book is addressed to amateurs, it will be henceforward required reading for any serious student of English local history. Mr. Hoskins begins with a brief but illuminating historical survey of the writing of English local history since the sixteenth century. He then discusses the particular problems of writing parish, manorial, urban, and institutional history, with successive chapters for each category. As he has done elsewhere, Hoskins here emphasizes the extreme importance of topography and of buildings, insisting very properly that the local historian must visit the scene in person and not be afraid to wet his feet in a personal examination of sites. Throughout the book the author points out the rich variety of material available to the local historian, warns

against too close attachment to the written (and particularly the legal) document, and insists (an important matter for English readers) that local history is not limited to the remoter past.

The book contains advice of both a practical and of a more theoretical kind. The first includes considerable bibliographical data, particularly as to methods and the use of sources, and an important discussion of various classes of documents with which the local historian has to deal. Some of this information is in the body of the text; a systematic selection is included at the end of the book. More theoretical and of more general interest to scholars not working in English history are Hoskins' reflections on the scope and purpose of local history. He insists that the local historian must be more than a mere collector of facts about the past, that he must have in mind specific questions that he seeks to answer, that he try to form at least tentative patterns, and that he never lose sight of the framework of more general historical development. If the book were not addressed to the amateur, the author might have had more to say about the problems of writing social history, a concern that too few English historians have yet voiced.

Many of the best things in the book are to be found in the specific instances or illustrations which interlard the text and which are generally drawn from the author's own rich experience. There is a valuable discussion of the history of buildings, particularly domestic structures, in Chapter ix, which will be useful to economic historians. There is an equally good section on urban siting in Chapter vi.

In general this is an eminently sensible and practical book, invaluable for the beginner in local history but full of useful material and important hints for the professional.

*Haverford College*

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

SIR WALTER RALEIGH. By *Willard M. Wallace*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 334. \$6.00.)

THERE is no reason for Professor Wallace to apologize for writing yet another biography of Sir Walter Raleigh. The justification is self-evident—the fascination and mystery of a man who was hero and fop, soldier and comic, poet and poser. There can be no end of writing about a legendary figure, the wellspring of whose character continually escapes us. The fact that Raleigh has also eluded his most recent biographer is not so much a commentary upon Wallace's deficiencies as on the complexities of a subject who united demon pride and childish naïveté with tender sensitivity and astute perspicacity.

The heroes of those wonderful years of Elizabeth's reign, when her beardless boys dared all, are almost Olympian in their stature, but whether this is sufficient reason for making the interplay between the Queen, Essex, Cecil, and Raleigh read like a chapter from Greek mythology is doubtful. Petty, childish, vindictive, and impulsive, Elizabeth is pictured as a vain, capricious, and aging Aphrodite;

Essex is portrayed as an emotional Apollo, "furious" with Raleigh over a petty slight and sulking in his room; and Howard is represented as so "infuriated" at the Queen for making Essex Earl-Marshal and giving him precedence over himself as Lord High Admiral and Earl of Nottingham that he "retired from Court in a huff." The narrative of these antics is constantly punctuated with such words as "extraordinary," "incredible," and "fantastic," which may be adjectives more appropriate to the ways of the gods than to the behavior of the Elizabethans.

Possibly Wallace is correct in picturing the waning years of the sixteenth century in Olympian terms, but if this is the case, then Sir Walter himself must be numbered among the overgrown, if divine, juveniles who populated the Elizabethan Age. Unfortunately the author has been captivated by the magic of his hero's charms, and his biography comes perilously close to being an apologia. Too often it is Raleigh whose friendship is sincere, whose advice is sagacious, whose actions are reasonable, and whose failures are explained away in terms of the conniving of unscrupulous scoundrels. Robert Cecil and Henry Howard are the villains of the story, and in the game of Machiavellian maneuvering the simple Raleigh is represented as a mere "tyro compared to Cecil." Wallace, however, never really faces the crucial point: how to explain the almost pathological hatred that was directed toward Sir Walter. It stands as a "brooding omnipresence" throughout his life, and surely in this one area, at least, Raleigh was no victim of Machiavellian practices but, instead, of the crookedness of his own great soul which avowedly harbored "a pride above the greatest Lucifer that hath lived in our age."

Wallace is strongest when he moves toward the crisis of Raleigh's life when Sir Walter's wit, sense of drama, and impulsiveness were at their best during his trial. One feels, however, that the author cannot entirely disassociate himself from the shocked sense of injustice done to his hero. If he had, possibly he would have detected in Raleigh's disgrace, trial, imprisonment, and final execution a magnificent lesson in political reality as it existed in Stuart England of the early seventeenth century—that the monarchical system, inherited from the Tudors, held no place for the fallen angel. Once the disgraced minister or favorite had lost the royal favor, he was defenseless, yet he could not be allowed to retire into the obscurity of private life, for he was always a constant danger to those in power. Alive, even imprisoned, Raleigh was a potential center of intrigue; there was always the real possibility that he might return to power should Prince Henry succeed his father to the throne, and even from the Tower Sir Walter was capable of shaping men's minds, even that of the King's son.

If we judge Wallace's effort in terms of revealing the rich and varied career of Raleigh then we must rank it high upon the list of Raleighiana, but if the reader seeks ultimate motives to the actions of either Sir Walter or his great contemporaries he will be disappointed.

*Northwestern University*

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC NEWTON. Volume I, 1661-1675.

Edited by *H. W. Turnbull*. (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Society of London. 1959. Pp. xxxvii, 467. \$25.00.)

NEWTON scholars who have long awaited the Royal Society's edition of his correspondence will not be disappointed with the first volume. Its value lies less in the previously unpublished material than in the careful editing and above all in the collection between two covers of all the known correspondence through the year 1675 in a thoroughly reliable form. Impressive, impeccable, it became definitive at the moment of publication. My only reservation, and it is a minor one, concerns the editor's policy on lost letters. Several known to have been written are briefly noted in the text, with all that is known of them. A large number of other letters about which as much is known are mentioned only in the notes. Their inclusion in the text would have given a clearer picture of Newton's correspondence, even when the actual letters cannot be found.

Three themes dominate the correspondence of these years: mathematics, reflecting telescopes, and light. The volume provides many insights into each, and among so many riches everyone will be attracted by particular treasures. Two things especially struck me. The first concerns Newton's personality. Many of the familiar phrases about shunning "acquaintance" and avoiding controversy come from these letters, but the table of contents itself is the most revealing commentary on Newton's introverted and solitary nature. Although the wonderful years of discovery fall within the time span of the volume, no letter and no evidence suggesting lost letters come from these years. Newton required the stimulation of others before he emerged from his shell. At the beginning of 1670 Collins discovered him, as did Oldenburg two years later. Of the eighty-nine letters to or from Newton in the volume, seventy-seven are exchanged with these two men. Through them, and through them alone, he communicated during these years with such leaders of scientific thought as Gregory and Huygens. If he finally exchanged a pair of letters with Hooke early in 1676, it was only when Hooke took the initiative. Apparently some barrier confined Newton within himself. When a few mild notes of dissent interrupted the symphony in praise of his telescope and his optical discoveries, he began to sever the lines of communication that had been established. Of the eighty-nine letters, fifty-one fall between January 1672 and June 1673. With an abrupt note at the end of his letter to Oldenburg on June 23, 1673, the instinct of isolation regained dominance, and Newton returned into himself. While some correspondence continued, more than a decade was to pass before Halley once again stimulated him to emerge.

The second impression concerns the glaring light that the volume casts on the major biographies of Newton, especially More's. Although More ostensibly based his work on the Portsmouth MSS, it becomes clear that he discovered virtually no new manuscript materials for this period. Comparison of his work, moreover, with

this volume suggests that his use of the printed sources was slipshod. For example, he exaggerated greatly the controversy with Hooke in the seventies; he telescoped the debate on light, referring events of 1676 to 1672 and casting blame on Oldenburg which this volume does not support; in taking his account of Newton's reaction to his paper's reception directly from the letters in Rigaud's collection, he missed completely the crucial letter of June 23, 1673, which was available to him in Horsley. The Royal Society's edition of Newton's correspondence seems to call for a new biography based upon and equaling its rigor.

*Grinnell College*

RICHARD S. WESTFALL

ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS IN ENGLAND, 1700-1800. By *T. S. Ashton*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 199. \$3.40.)

PROFESSOR Ashton's Ford Lectures of 1953, here expanded, are at last available to us all, and the study of the eighteenth century now has a new, vital dimension. Year by year, Ashton has brought to bear the resources of which he is uniquely a master for this period: statistics, national and regional; the histories of industries, institutions, and firms; the diaries, journals, and novels.

He proceeds by considering the four main sources of fluctuation, tracing the primary and secondary routes of their impact. First, the harvest. After weighing judiciously the variety of consequences of good and bad seasons, he concludes that the net effect of good harvests was expansionary. Second, war and trade. Again, after taking into account an exceedingly complex range of consequences that flowed from military operations, his net judgment is clear: "If England had enjoyed unbroken peace, the Industrial Revolution might have come earlier." Third, building and construction. Here we can dimly observe the long rhythm—broken from time to time by war, but recognizable nonetheless—in which Britain built the social overhead capital which was the essential foundation for the surge of industrialization in the last two decades of the century; and Ashton's indictment of war (via its impact on interest rates) becomes firm. Fourth, financial crises. These both reflected strains within and upon the economy and imparted strong deflationary impulses.

In a tour de force, Ashton concludes by marching us through the century, weaving these strands together, answering along the way most of the questions that, say, the National Bureau of Economic Research method would suggest as relevant, but doing so without a heavy analytic apparatus and never losing his wonderful intimacy of touch. In the end we are presented with a table of dates for turning points and for crises.

The question then arises: Was there a systematic, rhythmic business cycle? Ashton concludes that recognizable elements of the nineteenth-century business cycle were present, notably in the element of inventory fluctuation in foreign trade and in the downturn of certain expansion phases of long-term investment induced



naturally, as it were, either by supply bottlenecks or by a waning of profit expectations in particular sectors. But fluctuations as they actually took place in these decades were also powerfully shaped by the arbitrary interventions of war, weather, and the state, and their contours were also affected by immobilities in the movement of factors of production that were later to be reduced or eliminated. In the end, then, at least down to the 1780's, this is a book about fluctuations rather than cycles. Or, put another way, it is a prenatal history of the modern business cycle.

The book is, however, more than an addendum to the study of business cycle history. It is a short period view which opens new paths of inquiry to many of the grand long-term issues of economic and social change in eighteenth-century Britain.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

W. W. ROSTOW

THE BREWING INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND, 1700-1830. By *Peter Mathias*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xxviii, 595. \$15.00.)

THIS large (and expensive) book is one of the most exciting contributions made to economic history during the last two decades. Mr. Mathias has opened a window on part of one of mankind's oldest industries and one most inexplicably ignored by historians. The brewer provided "a prime necessity of life for masses of the people and a main object of their surplus spending." His product, incidentally, may have been far safer to drink than most city water, since it was boiled at one stage of production. He ranked as one of agriculture's best customers and as a major contributor to the public revenue.

To do his job, especially in eighteenth-century London when the thick blackish beer called "porter" came into vogue, he developed virtually all those features of large-scale enterprise and of innovation that are usually regarded as the peculiar inventions of the textile and iron "industrial revolutionaries." Even by 1750 "a large porter brewery [making forty thousand barrels per annum] was as different from the inn brewhouse as the later cotton mill was from a cottage workshop." By 1800 his investment in fixed plant and operating funds might have reached (or passed) £250,000 as his productive, storage, transporting, and retailing equipment grew larger and more efficient. His laborsaving devices multiplied, especially when the steam engine's "horsepower" literally replaced horses. By the end of the century "all the operations had been mechanized, thanks to steam"; Whitbread's output reached 200,000 barrels in 1796; and the twelve largest brewers had increased their share of London's production of strong beer from two-fifths to four-fifths within fifty years, thereby creating those "perfect conditions of oligopoly where the assumptions of perfect competition no longer existed," which economists did not discover until the 1920's.

The brewing industry was thus very big business. As such its records were voluminous and most detailed. By happy chance, mountains of them have survived "despite the hazards of efficient chief-clerks, the salvage drives of two wars, and

the *Luftwaffe* (all destroying records in their different ways and effective in that order)." From them Mathias has chosen his samples skillfully, extracting therefrom not merely long time series of statistics concerning output, sales, prices, capitalization, and the like, but also colors with which to paint vivid pictures of the organization and operations of the industry, the origin, rise, and personalities of the leaders, the play of politics and of social forces, the importance of male heirs if the family connection was to be carried on, and the close ties of kinship and Quakerism that bound the brewers and bankers together in a "religious-cum-kinship group." Chapter VII on "Competition and Cooperation" is a penetrating case study of an early oligopoly, while Chapters VIII-IX on "Finance and the Entrepreneur" are superb social history. On the one hand, they drive home the economist Frank Knight's contention that the word "individualism" should be replaced by "familyism" in the social scientist's vocabulary. On the other, they say much that is new and wise to anyone interested in the "great debate upon the impact of religious ideas in economic life." From his study of "this extraordinary group of relatives" involved in the brewing industry Mathias concludes that "the picture of a religious ethic acting directly upon the individual over-simplifies the direct impact of ideas upon events, by ignoring the opportunities and strength given by the fact of community amongst the faithful." Among the Quakers the sense of conscious community, with the obligations of cohesion and the opportunities it offered, was equally experienced by all. Kinship and Quakerism combined to provide "an environment of mutual trust and confidence within which a private 'invisible hand' could accommodate the advantages of each member with the benefit of all." Shades of Adam Smith!

*Pennsylvania State University*

HERBERT HEATON

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: AN APPLICATION OF THEORY TO THE BRITISH COTTON INDUSTRY. By *Neil J. Smelser*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 400. \$6.00.)

To the history of the English cotton industry Dr. Smelser applies a general theory of the process by which change takes place. The theory, developed by the Talcott Parsons school of sociology, divides any sequence of institutional change into a series of steps leading from the beginnings of dissatisfaction through exaggerated (or utopian) ideas about remedies to gradually more acceptable proposals and their implementation and finally general prevalence ("routinization"). The process is "structural differentiation" and the end product is a more highly developed or specialized institution or institutions.

As a conceptual framework this way of analyzing historical change has a certain attractiveness. Unfortunately Smelser has Parsons' disease and tries, especially in the first fifty pages, to prove himself a social theorist by elaborating his doctrine in a most abstract and indigestible way. Here we have the abstractness-

equals-profundity principle carried to an extreme, and a jargon as unwieldy as Jeremy Bentham's is inflicted upon the reader.

When we turn to the more specific parts of the book, our distress is increased by the discovery that a good (perhaps a brilliant) historian has been sacrificed to make a doctrinaire sociologist. It may be that the author himself has suspected as much, for we hear somewhat less of the theory as we go along. Or it may be that difficulties increased as the work progressed. In any case the pattern of steps is obscured and we discover much "regression" and "overlapping," while some of the "steps" never seem to appear at all. The author conscientiously recognizes these difficulties and accepts a certain want of neatness in the story.

His specific material, based on extensive and intelligent research, illuminates several aspects of the subject, especially in explaining why factory workers for a long time showed so little interest in factory legislation and how industrial reorganization affected the relations of parents with their children in working-class families (particularly Chapters ix and x).

Yet there are many places where the reader will wonder whether bias in favor of the theory has not affected the discussion. Undaunted, for example, by the difficulty (which he frankly recognizes) in discovering the religious beliefs of industrial innovators, Smelser is determined that religious dissent must provide part of the "value background." For this purpose he infers a "selective" draining off of dissenters from the southern and eastern counties to Lancashire, and these newcomers, having Calvinistic-Methodistic thrift-austerity "values" of course, set about remodeling the cotton spinning industry. We do not get much evidence of this migration, but we are told that Scottish weavers and traders migrated to Lancashire and provided a dissenter background for Congregationalism. How a migration southward demonstrates migration northward remains obscure. On the whole, nevertheless, the historical portion of the work deserves commendation for its stimulating new insight.

*Brown University*

CHESTER KIRBY

EDMUND BURKE AND IRELAND. By *Thomas H. D. Mahoney*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 413. \$7.50.)

FOR more than 150 years after his death the papers of Edmund Burke were largely inaccessible to researchers. Then in 1949 his correspondence became available and Burke began to receive increased attention. The University of Chicago Press has started the publication of a definitive edition of this correspondence. In addition, numerous studies of Burke's activities have been made or are under way; Professor Mahoney's *Edmund Burke and Ireland* is one of these. Dealing with an area of Burke's life that had been largely neglected heretofore, this book helps to provide us with a better understanding of this eighteenth-century statesman.

Burke was closely associated with Ireland from his birth in 1729 until his

death in 1797. After reaching manhood and going to England, he returned to his native land infrequently. Through extensive correspondence, numerous tracts, and other publications and speeches in Parliament, however, Burke made a great impact on Irish matters during the last half of the eighteenth century. As early as 1761 he was writing on the Irish popery laws, and his last published letter was on affairs in Ireland. A number of Irish issues stand out during Burke's career, among which was the levying of taxes on absentee English holders of Irish estates. This he opposed because he thought it would drive many absentees to take permanent residence in Ireland, thus separating Ireland from England to a considerable degree. Mahoney considers this action an example of Burke's imperialism in which he placed the welfare of the British Empire ahead of its constituent parts. In 1778 Burke worked hard for the removal of the laws that restricted the import of Irish manufactured goods into England. Following this he lost the support of his backers in Bristol and his seat from that district. It is difficult to reconcile his outspoken support of Irish trade at this time with his change of attitude in 1785 regarding Pitt's propositions for Irish free trade. In 1782 Burke maintained silence during the passage of legislation giving Ireland a degree of independence. The author justifies this on the grounds that Burke did not want to separate the two countries. During the 1790's he did not favor a union of the British and Irish parliaments; instead he desired a "reformed" Irish Parliament—reformed only to the extent of removing the power of the Protestants and admitting Irish Catholics.

Burke was raised as an Anglican but was sympathetic to the cause of the Irish Catholics at all times. Although Mahoney has tried to show that Burke was inconsistent only by accident, one must conclude that his consistency was largely evident in the field of Catholic rights. He supported legislation giving them the privilege of leasing land, voting in elections, sitting in Parliament, and controlling their own education, privileges long denied them. His son Richard served as agent for the general committee of the Irish Catholics for many years, and Burke counseled him repeatedly on the course of action to be followed. Although Irish matters concerned Burke for more than thirty-five years there are several periods when he made no reference to Ireland in his correspondence or speeches. At these times he was defending English liberties in America, opposing the principles of the French Revolution, or upholding the charter rights of the East India Company. The book provides background on these and other activities.

Mahoney has made extensive use of Burke's papers and has exhaustively searched for indications of his attitudes and actions on Irish problems. Because they are at times quoted at great length, Burke's main ideas do not always stand out as clearly as they might. This book will, however, greatly assist others who are studying Burke's entire career, Irish conditions during this period, or British-Irish relations.

*Arlington, Virginia*

HOMER L. CALKIN

1859: ENTERING AN AGE OF CRISIS. Edited by Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff. General introduction by Howard Mumford Jones. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. c. 1959. Pp. 320. \$6.75.)

Do not pay attention to the dramatic and misleading title of this collection of essays. It proclaims a dubious thesis that none of the contributors to the volume takes too seriously. If the search for snappy titles had not invaded even the world of scholarship, the book could have been called simply and accurately "Some Aspects of Mid-Victorian Life, with Particular Reference to the Year 1859"—the extraordinary year of *On the Origin of Species*, *On Liberty*, *The Rubáiyát*, *Adam Bede*, and *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. At any rate, many phases of the mid-Victorian scene, political, diplomatic, economic, scientific, religious, educational, literary, and social, are dealt with in this volume, and on an impressively high level. There is no doubt that the most acute Victorianist of our time, G. M. Young, to whom the book is dedicated and whose influence pervades the volume, would have liked it if he had been able to see it before his recent death. Indeed, the chief weakness of the work is its brevity: after a mere 314 pages it comes to an unwelcome end.

The essays are filled with many lively, refreshing, and perceptive comments. Howard Mumford Jones, as keen as ever and still alive to the comic spirit among the Victorians, sings the praises of Charles Darwin both as a stylist and as a humorist. Noel Annan, the gifted authority on Leslie Stephen, asserts the central importance of evangelicalism in the mid-Victorian conflicts of science and religion. R. V. Sampson of the University of Bristol skillfully rehabilitates the much-neglected H. L. Mansel as a theological controversialist, and he brings Freud to bear on F. D. Maurice—still a courageous act for a British scholar. Philip Appleman of Indiana University protests vigorously against the simple-mindedness that has dominated treatments of Walter Pater and emphasizes his hero's uneasy domestication of both impressionism and historical-mindedness. Crusading George Haines IV of Connecticut College once again proclaims the almost embarrassing relevance to the contemporary scene of mid-Victorian educational dilemmas. William O. Aydelotte of the State University of Iowa and J. B. Conacher of the University of Toronto spiritedly blast a multitude of myths concerning mid-Victorian politics, political parties, and politicians. R. B. Mc Callum, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, exposes John Stuart Mill's weaknesses as a student of society. That indefatigable scholar-adventurer and expert on other scholar-adventurers, Richard D. Altick, steeped in the literary trash that many mid-Victorians enjoyed, argues cogently that to hold that "there has been an almost catastrophic decline in the quality of popular literature in the past hundred years is to confess both an ignorance of what the mid-Victorians really read and an excessively dour view of our modern mass reading tastes." William A. Madden of Indiana University continues the campaign against some of the nonsense that has been written

about Victorian prudery. And Michael Wolff, also of Indiana University, demonstrates how discerning so many mid-Victorian reviewers were in singling out the books that were to be regarded in future times as seminal.

In short, this is a volume that does credit to its three editors and sixteen authors. Indiana University, the Indiana University Press, and the Ford Foundation, which helped to finance its publication, also deserve praise. It is, for all that, a depressing thought that the market for mature works of historical and literary scholarship is so restricted that a volume of this kind should have required a publication subsidy.

*Columbia University*

HERMAN AUSUBEL

ELECTIONS AND PARTY MANAGEMENT: POLITICS IN THE TIME OF DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE. By *H. J. Hanham*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xvii, 468. \$12.00.)

Mr. Hanham's study of politics in the years 1868-1881 helps materially to redress the balance of the rather one-sided approach that has developed in political history. The activities of the House of Commons, to which most scholars direct their attention, become fully intelligible only when considered in the light of the practical problems which all politicians had to face in their own constituencies. Failure to grasp the significance of local conditions has detracted from the value of a number of otherwise useful books. Hanham discusses, not the House of Commons, but the problems of the ordinary politician and the growth of party organization. The three sections of his book deal with the constituencies, the conduct of elections and the techniques of electioneering, and the organization and financing of the central party offices. Though his details sometimes overpower his general picture, he has on the whole done his work well. He has read enormously, exploiting the relevant manuscript collections, and he offers an account far fuller and more concrete than any hitherto available. He describes a complex and somewhat ambiguous situation. The Act of 1867, like that of 1832, took some time to produce its full effects, and many features of the 1870's belonged more to the old system than to the new. Some innovations did appear, such as the clearer emergence of a two-party system in the elections of 1874 and 1880, the increasing political lead furnished by the provinces, and certain new techniques of electioneering that grew up in the larger boroughs. On the other hand, many of the electoral traditions and methods of the early or middle nineteenth century persisted, particularly in the counties and small towns. Election contests still occurred with relative infrequency, local or regional issues continued important, the political leadership of the landlords in the counties remained paramount, and the number of nomination boroughs had not greatly decreased since the 1840's, though the number of seats controlled by nomination had. Electoral corruption declined only gradually, and persisted through this period into the twentieth century. Hanham



ascribes the reduction of its incidence, not to the legislation specifically designed to control it, but rather to the disfranchisement of the more notorious boroughs, particularly in the redistribution provisions of the Acts of 1867 and 1885. The most important departures in political practices came, Hanham thinks, not in the period covered by his book but only after the break in prosperity in the 1870's and the further reform legislation of 1884-1885.

*State University of Iowa*

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

KING GEORGE VI: HIS LIFE AND REIGN. By *John W. Wheeler-Bennett*. (New York: St Martin's Press. c. 1958. Pp. xii, 891. \$10.00.)

IN this generously illustrated volume Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has provided "both the personal and the public life" of His Majesty, King George VI, as definitive a biography as we are likely to have in our time. The author has drawn heavily on the Royal Archives at Buckingham Palace and Windsor—especially the personal letters and diaries and the official correspondence of George VI himself—to which he had "unrestricted access."

Everything considered it may be said that the personal life comes off the better, for in the early chapters Wheeler-Bennett succeeds in presenting Prince Albert (after 1920, the Duke of York) as a human being. One enters sympathetically into the problems of his speech impediment, appreciates his difficulties as a student, and enjoys his experience in the Royal Navy. If the extended treatment of certain episodes is often tedious—his chronic ill health, his childhood at "the glum little villa" of York Cottage, Sandringham, and his own problems of homemaking after marriage—this is balanced by the lively passages of his service on *Collingwood* in the Battle of Jutland, of his success over many years in bringing together public school boys and industrial boys for a holiday in "My Camp," and of his Empire world tour with the Duchess in 1927.

To prevent his story of the reign from deteriorating into a mere repetition of the court circular, the author successfully employs the device of a running account of general history against which to treat the actions, thoughts, and words of the sovereign. Though he sometimes overplays the royal role he has scored some notable successes, for example, in giving us the Duke of York's chronicle of the abdication crisis and in adding to our knowledge of the nature of kingship during the war. Particularly illuminating are the correspondence with President Roosevelt as American aid materialized, the account of royal contacts with governments in exile, and the unforgettable story of the King's visit to the Mediterranean in 1943 and his entrance into the Grand Harbor of Valletta (Malta) standing on the bridge of the cruiser *Aurora*.

But with all the good things in this well-written book, one closes it with the feeling that Wheeler-Bennett, like others, has succumbed to the magic of monarchy.

The result is a good deal of humbug. One accepts at face value his characterization of George VI as courageous, devoutly religious, responsive to duty, and devoted to his family, but one can only smile at the long catalogue of virtues in the index relieved only by a few entries under "temper" and "poor sailor." Also, the Duke of York was "fully appreciative of his status as his father's second heir," yet never gave serious thought to the possibility of his succession. But after all his navy service was admirable training for kingship, and we come to the climax: though *Roi malgré lui*, he "was in every sense *un Roi de Métier*." Further, it is suggested that George VI ever stood above his own convictions and emotions. Yet he was fulsome in admiration for Chamberlain's role at Munich and in May 1940 offered to urge Labour "to pull their weight" and join up with Chamberlain. We are told that he was neither pro-Conservative nor anti-Socialist but really "a progressive." But he was shocked and dismayed by the defeat in 1945 of Churchill whom he was sure "the People did not want to lose" and he admonished Attlee "that he must give the people here some confidence that the Government was not going to stifle all private enterprise."

In fact Wheeler-Bennett chooses to ignore what is patent from his own account, that George VI, like his father, did attempt, and in an entirely constitutional manner, to bring his opinions and personality to bear upon problems of state. Rather, George VI is presented as "the People's King" and as "the hierophant of the *mystique* of monarchy." He was invariably fair, judicious, farsighted, even on occasion prescient. The crown still has its halo.

Amherst College

ALFRED F. HAVIGHURST

#### THE ROAD TO SELF-RULE: A STUDY IN COLONIAL EVOLUTION.

By W. M. Macmillan. (London: Faber and Faber. 1959. Pp. 296. 35s.)

THE major portion of this interesting and informative book is devoted to past and present problems of the British colonies in Africa and the West Indies, the lands now embracing most of Britain's overseas dependencies. For all of them the British government has adopted a program of gradually reduced control from the imperial center. Ultimately these colonies are expected to become independent sovereign states.

Professor Macmillan is a recognized authority on the issues of nation building in these areas. He is familiar with their history; in recent years he has conducted several on-the-spot investigations of their problems, and his findings have been published in scholarly monographs. In this book the author, by bringing together his impressions of African and West Indian lands and peoples, records and assesses changes and events of the last half century.

As indicated by the title, Macmillan's chief purpose is to trace the path along which British dependencies have advanced toward independence in modern times.

The author is much interested in Turner's frontier thesis, and by way of introduction he analyzes, with this thesis in mind, the general problems of new settlements. Then follows a brief résumé of events on the outposts of the first British colonies in North America. Having examined the colonial policy of that period and its outcome, Macmillan observes: "It is one clear lesson of the American Revolution that when issue is joined on the political level between the ruler and the ruled of any colony, at any rate when the politicians effectively dominate colonial opinion, colonial rule and even orderly administration become impossible." Readers may find this remark somewhat cryptic.

In relating the history of the British Empire that took shape after the loss of the thirteen American colonies, the author rightly stresses the influence of humanitarianism and of the newly awakened interest in foreign missions in Africa and the West Indies. The annual May meetings of humanitarians at Exeter Hall, London, were events of national importance. The Aborigines Protection Society (not mentioned in this book) joined with the Slavery Emancipation Society in efforts to protect "backward" peoples from exploitation. The concept of moral responsibility for the condition of the natives in British-controlled areas had wide acceptance in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

The author has selected "Canada, as the great laboratory, or forcing house of self-government. . . ." But he seems unaware of the fact that the much-praised Durham Report had no connection with Lord John Russell's circular dispatch of October 16, 1839, which by changing the tenure of colonial executive councilors from a term of good behavior (which usually meant life) to the term of the Queen's pleasure, removed a most important obstacle to responsible government. James Stephen, legal counselor in the Colonial Office (1813-1847), moreover, stated in January 1846 that Canada had self-government and was "in everything but the name, a distinct State." Imperial control had vanished from most aspects of Canada's economic and social affairs well in advance of responsible government. Macmillan joins the company of illustrious British historians, including Sir Winston Churchill, who have kept alive the legend that Britain in 1814 generously "purchased" the Cape and other colonies from the Dutch. Thirty years ago that myth was exploded by Dr. William H. Robson (*Journal of Modern History*, III [June 1931], 198-218). On this, as well as on many other points, British historians may profit from a perusal of trans-Atlantic contributions to British Empire history.

The chief value of the book lies in the author's portrayals of the African and West Indian scenes in the present century. Lord Lugard's much-touted indirect rule has failed; tribalism is on the way out; colonialism is dead. Africa for the Africans and the West Indies for the West Indians are effective political slogans. Africa was certainly not a happy land before Europeans moved in to govern and, in many cases, to exploit. But natives are now inclined to glorify the conditions in Africa in the precolonial period. Because of the slave status of their forbears West Indians still carry a terrific psychological burden. They have not yet fully acquired

the self-confidence needed to fulfill the responsibilities of free men. The author is a friend to them all, and his book effectively reveals the conditions and problems of peoples who in the past have suffered much.

*University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

AN AGE OF CRISIS: MAN AND WORLD IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH THOUGHT. By *Lester G. Crocker*. [Goucher College Series.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. c. 1959. Pp. xx, 496. \$7.50.)

A TERM paper in a course on eighteenth-century France came in not so long ago entitled "Dialogue in Geneva." The writer had half a dozen very different characters, American, English, and Russian, talking about man's fate at a café by the Rhone in Rousseau's home town during the 1954 foreign ministers' conference. The instructor read on with interest and puzzlement, for the talk seemed stilted, formal, awkward; yet the substance was strangely familiar. The puzzle was finally solved. The writer had made the whole paper a pastiche of *direct* quotations from Rousseau, mostly in rather heavy English translations.

Rousseau was indeed at least half a dozen very different, sometimes in terms of logic, antithetical, persons. It would be harder to bring off a similar stroke with a Bentham or a Helvetius, but perhaps quite as easy—though with a different range of ideas and sentiments—with a Voltaire or a Diderot. For the kind of "ideas" Professor Crocker analyzes in this altogether admirable study are always in complex clusters in the work of their holders, always in varied combinations, always a puzzle to the conventionally trained scientific mind insistent on precision, rigor, logical consistency, and direct and relatively simple empirical verifiability of propositions.

Yet of course these clusters of ideas are not, as some naïve popularizers of the curious modern variant of nominalism known as logical positivism often claim, "meaningless." They have many meanings, and one of the most important tasks of the historian of ideas is to make clear the range of these meanings in the work of the great and near-great thinkers of an age. No group has done this task better than the group headed by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy at Johns Hopkins, to whom Crocker dedicates this book. The basic tool they use is indeed logical analysis of the meanings of such terms as "nature," "reason," "self-interest," "contract," but it is an analysis that allows for all sorts of overtones, shadings, subtleties of thought and feeling. It is no reproach to the school to maintain that the "average" man (incidentally, a concept they are interested in) does not think and feel so subtly. They by no means deny that these ideas get altered as they descend into the crowd, but they think, rightly, that the historian of ideas must first of all get these ideas straight at their sources.

Crocker considers with great care, and with full detail, all the classic questions of man's fate with which the philosophes dealt. He explains carefully in a prefatory

note that no one should skip the definitions and the tools with which he begins. Chapter II, "The Problem of Evil," is an especially good sample of his method. His most useful major revisionist theme is a running correction of those who use carelessly—and this reviewer is guilty, having taken too early the imprint of Irving Babbitt—the blanket phrase "belief in the natural goodness of man." He sums up—admitting that there was "in certain sections of society, the belief in his [man's] goodness"—as follows:

The optimism of the Age of Enlightenment was, for the most part, not about human nature, but about what could be done with human beings, through the progress of science, through education and government, and in general, through the rational reconstruction of society. Its confidence was less in man's reasonableness, than in the power of reason to devise ways of coping with such a creature. This was the hope, but it overlay a substratum of pessimism about man himself.

This is an essential book for anyone interested in intellectual history, or as the school of Lovejoy prefers to put it, the history of ideas.

*Harvard University*

CRANE BRINTON

DUTCH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1815: A STUDY IN SMALL POWER POLITICS. By *Amry Vandenbosch*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. Pp. x, 318. Glds. 25.50.)

IN the present volume Dr. Vandenbosch, well known as the author of a standard text on colonial administration in the former Dutch East Indies, has given us the first extensive survey in English of the foreign relations of the Netherlands in modern times. A political scientist by profession, Vandenbosch views his subject primarily as a case history in "small power politics." Instead of presenting a continuous chronological narrative or an exhaustive country-by-country survey, the author devotes the main part of his book (Chapters IV–XV) to what might be called the high lights of Dutch foreign policy since 1815. He examines those dramatic episodes that provide a particularly clear insight into the forces that have shaped Dutch policy during the last century and a half. The method has its merits. It permits the author to cut out irrelevant details, and makes what is left more interesting. And while it carries with it the danger of fragmentation, Vandenbosch has succeeded in giving coherence and perspective to the account of isolated incidents by relating them to certain general themes.

Only at the beginning and end of the book does the author depart from this topical arrangement. The first three chapters ("Introduction," "Formulation and Control of Foreign Policy," and "The Foreign Office and the Foreign Service") are highly instructive and provide the necessary setting for the following discussion. (Chapter III might have profited from a more thorough exploration of the administrative relationships of the Foreign Office with other government departments,

notably those of Commerce and Economic Affairs. In general the author pays relatively little attention to economic policy.) Two of the last chapters, however, concerning relations with Belgium and Germany (Chapters xvi and xvii), seem to be less appropriate to the general scheme. Besides being somewhat repetitious, this treatment raises the question why there should not also have been a separate chapter on relations with the United Kingdom, which after all, was the chief guarantor of Dutch neutrality in this period. American readers might also with some justification have expected to find a separate chapter on United States-Dutch relations. The final chapter on the reorientation of Dutch foreign policy after 1945 is sketchy.

Within the limitations of his topical arrangement the author has given us a remarkably complete survey of the important aspects of Dutch foreign policy from 1815 to World War II. He devotes more than the usual amount of space to a discussion of the impact of public opinion and domestic politics upon foreign policy. The chapters on the Boer War, relations with the Vatican, and the "greater Netherlands idea" are particularly instructive in this regard. The scanty treatment of the diplomacy of the Belgian revolution from 1830 to 1839 and the arbitrary way in which the discussion of Dutch-Venezuelan relations ends with 1920 are only minor flaws.

As might be expected, Vandenbosch's account of Dutch foreign policy since 1815 is marked by the same striving for accuracy, fairness, and sympathetic understanding that have been characteristic of his earlier works. The book is based primarily on published documents and on the best available secondary sources. There are very few statements in the book to which I would take exception. To characterize Dutch foreign policy between 1713 and 1795 as "pro-French neutrality," however, seems somewhat debatable, since the Dutch Republic tenaciously clung to its right of fortification of certain towns in the Austrian Netherlands as a barrier against France, and since the "Stadtholders" remained solidly pro-British during this period. The author also seems to underestimate the extent of German cultural influence in the Netherlands during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an influence that was abruptly terminated by the rise of Hitlerism and German occupation of the Netherlands in World War II. A few factual errors have crept in: the duke of Parma rather than the duke of Alva enabled Spain to retain the southern Netherlands in the sixteenth century; Staf de Clercq, not the poet René de Clercq, became the leader of the Flemish Nazis in World War II; the Royal House of Wuertemberg is erroneously referred to as the "House of Wurtenburg." These, however, are but very minor blemishes on an otherwise well-planned and well-executed book, one that should interest both the historian and the general reader.

*Stuttgart, Germany*

BERTUS H. WABEKE



NORWAY-SWEDEN: UNION, DISUNION, AND SCANDINAVIAN INTEGRATION. By *Raymond E. Lindgren*. [Publication of the Center for Research on World Political Institutions, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 298. \$5.00.)

THE history of the union between the two Scandinavian kingdoms, Sweden and Norway, in the nineteenth century, its difficulties, its gradual dissolution, and its final rupture without any ensuing hostilities between the two nations, has not been very much discussed in American or English historical literature. Dr. Raymond E. Lindgren's sound and scholarly monograph thus has filled quite a considerable gap. His book forms part of a larger project developed by the Center for Research on World Political Institutions at Princeton University. This origin perhaps has not always been fortunate, as the author occasionally has had to conform to a rather special terminology which at times does not seem to be quite appropriate to his special theme. That disadvantage, however, has no very great importance.

In the first chapters Lindgren gives a clear and rather condensed description of the union's original construction in 1814-1815 and of the first seventy years of its troubled history. The book's real center of gravity lies, however, in the nine chapters that form its middle part. In them the author gives a very full picture of the Swedish-Norwegian quarrels in the 1890's and in the first five years of our own century, ending with the final rupture in June 1905 and the ensuing grave crisis that was solved by the remarkable Karlstad agreement in the fall of the same year. The last third of the volume is devoted to a survey of the trend for inter-Scandinavian cooperation during the First World War and afterwards.

The most worthwhile part of this valuable book is quite definitely the broad and detailed narrative and analysis of the last phase in the tragic history of the union. The author has used original sources, to a large extent even those still unpublished, and he is also well versed in the historical literature. These chapters will be of great value to Scandinavian scholars. The narrative is always fair and objective. A rather preponderant part of the sources and literature which can be used today are of Norwegian origins, and a Swedish reader possibly might remark that this circumstance sometimes has given a slightly pro-Norwegian slant to the author's judgments on controversial points. Such a trend is perhaps natural also because the Norwegian point of view eventually was to be the victorious one.

The survey of the last fifty years is for the most part good. To some degree, it suffers from two slight distortions. The author makes no clear distinction between such advances in cooperation peculiar to Swedish-Norwegian relations and those general expressions of "Scandinavianism" or "Nordism," and thus common to all four Scandinavian nations. The other slight distortion comes from Lindgren's having stressed in the earlier parts of his book the purely political side of developments which were at that time mostly adverse to cooperation (or as he calls it "integra-

tion”), whereas he in the last third of his study chiefly discusses nonpolitical events and ideas in which the trend to cooperation has been most marked. The consequence of this is that the nineteenth century perhaps looks somewhat worse and our own century somewhat better from the point of view of Scandinavian integration than is the case.

Lindgren is admirably well read in modern Swedish and Norwegian history. It is thus a real exception to a general rule when he incidentally calls that old arch-Liberal leader Carl-Henrik Anckarsvård “ultra-Conservative.” He has probably in this exceptional case been misled by Anckarsvård’s strongly anti-Norwegian pronouncements in the 1850’s, which formed a part of his vendetta against the king and his government.

*University of Stockholm*

TORVALD HÖJER

WIRTSCHAFT UND STAAT: DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER STAATLICHEN WIRTSCHAFTSVERWALTUNG IN DEUTSCHLAND VOM 17. JAHRHUNDERT BIS 1945. By *Friedrich Facius*. [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 6.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, c. 1959. Pp. xii, 271. DM 14.80.)

THIS solid book, buttressed with factual data and valuable bibliographical references, is a study in the history of administrative organization and reorganization. It traces for the first time the complete evolution of central administrative departments directly concerned with government intervention in economic life in Bavaria, Brandenburg-Prussia, the German-Slav lands of the Hapsburg monarchy, and some of the lesser German states from the emergence of cameralism and mercantilism until the collapse of the Third Reich. The author is aware of the wider implications of his theme. He touches, therefore, on the transformation of the political and economic structure. He also draws passing attention to the major changes in the direction and scope of governmental economic policy, in economic and social doctrines, and in administrative functions and techniques. Basically, however, his interest focuses on the fluctuating growth of administrative organization as such.

Thoroughly at home in the huge secondary literature, Facius builds up his subject by describing, on the territorial state level, the bewildering and highly unstable development of the various *Wirtschaftsressorts* in the central administrations, noting the ever-changing names, jurisdictions, and official tasks of these departments, but only here and there the historical circumstances that gave rise to them. This concise survey deals with the period from the late sixteenth century until the founding of Bismarck’s empire. It serves as an introduction to the more detailed core of the book which emphasizes the establishment and subsequent reconstruction of the federal government’s machinery of economic administration and social welfare after the 1870’s. More than half of the total space has been set

aside for the stormy years from 1914 to 1945. In this part the author explores the origins and development of the *Reichswirtschaftsministerium* and its subdivisions, and summarizes the biographical antecedents of the top officials. He also alludes to the influence of pressure groups upon the reorganization of economic state administration as well as upon economic policy itself. The author's familiarity with the relevant printed primary sources of that period enables him to add color and a broadened perspective to his, on the whole, dry and technical treatment. Its strength is the supplying of accurate information rather than the raising of stimulating questions. For specialists this volume is a very useful work of reference.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

BISMARCK UND NAPOLEON III.: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER PREUSSISCH-FRANZÖSISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN, 1851-1871. By *Herbert Geuss*. [Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, Volume I.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1959. Pp. vi, 324.)

WHAT was Napoleon III's policy toward Germany? This broad question, a basic one in Bismarck's creation of an aggressive program for Prussia, has attracted considerable attention from historians. Answering by inference, Herbert Geuss now shows what Bismarck thought Napoleon III's intentions were and how Prussian expansion was first advised and later carried out accordingly. The narrative also demonstrates anew the striking success of Bismarck's analysis.

Despite the way in which the original question is posed, Geuss is really more interested in Bismarck than in Napoleon III. This is just as well since, like several other questions involving the French Emperor, more satisfactory results come from examining persons on his periphery than the man himself. The specific issue at stake in this study is the matter of Napoleon's *Rheinpolitik* and here there is a deliberate refutation of Oncken.

Bismarck consistently believed that the French Emperor had no serious ideas of expansion toward the Rhine until after Königgrätz. The French policy seemed to favor a Germany divided with a Prussian-Austrian rivalry insuring a sort of real sovereignty for the other German states. At the same time Bismarck saw an opportunity for Prussia in the Franco-Austrian rivalry forced by the interests these powers had in Italy. The idea of French gains toward the Rhine came, not as part of a deliberate German policy of Napoleon III, but as a direct reaction to the dramatic rise of Prussian influence. Geuss suggests that if Gerhard Ritter and other recent scholars also differing with Oncken are wrong, they at least see things as Bismarck saw them.

Bismarck believed that from as early as 1851 Napoleon III was determined simply to alter the treaty structure of Europe as defined in 1815. Territorial conquests were not his aim. His ambition really was to give France a solid founda-

tion in Europe, and the experiences of 1855-1862 reaffirmed Bismarck in his estimate that this relatively modest goal was the true French objective rather than land-grabbing on the Rhine. Indeed, Napoleon III even wanted a strong Prussia as an important part of his new hegemony, which aimed at a system of satellite states. Geuss feels that this latter dimension of the situation escaped Ritter, though he hastily explains that it is only because of Ritter's indispensable work that the whole relationship of Bismarck and Napoleon III can be unraveled.

While this study is generally authoritative on Bismarck's views, to expect much more may be to invite skepticism. The narrative rests preponderantly on Bismarck's *Die gesammelten Werke*, rather than upon archival research. Bismarck, Napoleon III, and German unification have all attracted many scholars, and there are several monographs for particular episodes discussed by Geuss that are more solidly based and more meticulously detailed. A number of these must be regarded as more authoritative when treating Bismarck. In this category are relevant studies by C. W. Hallberg, C. W. Wells, and L. D. Steefel which, incidentally, are missing from the author's modest bibliography.

Aside from such reservations, Geuss has written a work that other specialists in this area will want to consult. Surely to give Bismarck's analysis of the intentions of Napoleon III for such an extensive period is no mean accomplishment.

*University of Oklahoma*

BRISON D. GOOCH

ANTON FUGGER. Volume I, 1453-1535. By Götz Freiherrn von Pölnitz. [Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Number 4, Volume VI. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, Volume XIII.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1958. Pp. xi, 772. DM 55.)

THIS is an important work. It is the first of a projected three-volume biography of one of the foremost businessmen of the sixteenth century. Anton Fugger, the nephew and successor of Jacob Fugger the Rich, has remained till now overshadowed by his powerful, colorful, and articulate uncle, though Richard Ehrenberg and Jakob Strieder had disclosed as early as the turn of this century that the Fugger empire had been expanded, geographically, operationally, and financially, under Anton's leadership far beyond the aims and expectations of Jacob. The primary reason for the neglect of Anton Fugger, according to the author, lies in Anton's own studied aloofness and secretive handling of business affairs. It is the merit of Von Pölnitz to have rescued Anton from his self-imposed retiring posture and to have made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the merchant-banker's far-flung and complex business operations and their relation with the political, economic, cultural, and religious events of his day.

The text, chronologically arranged in ten chapters, takes up less than half of

the book. The author allots one- or two-year periods to each chapter, except for the first two, where he covers the time from 1453 to the death of Jacob in 1525. Although Von Pölnitz occasionally permits himself a generalization, or a speculative assumption where sources are scarce or seemingly contradictory, he does not attempt to subject the vast data arrayed in narrative form to an economic or any other analysis employed in the social sciences. His findings are consciously presented in the Rankean tradition of *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. Value judgment, nonetheless, is not absent. The author frequently asserts that Anton visualized and worked toward an economic empire above and across religious factions and dynastic politics based on peace. This thesis fits well with Anton's double-track policy of keeping on good terms with King Ferdinand and with King Zapolya (both claimants to the crown of Hungary) to preserve the Fugger mines in Transylvania. Its validity suffers, however, from the fact that Anton frequently granted substantial loans, at conditions advantageous to his firm, to the Hapsburg princes, fully aware that the money was used for military ventures. Indeed, in contradiction to the thesis that Anton's aim was for universal peace, Von Pölnitz stresses with equal emphasis the point that the success of any campaign depended on Fugger money. Thus the defeat and death of Louis of Hungary at Mohacs is explained as a direct consequence of the young King's confiscation of Fugger mines and his refusal to pay off his debts. In his hour of need Louis was unable to raise financial support: "His kingdom went to pieces with his credit." Conversely, the triumph over the Turks before Vienna in 1529 "shed its splendor over Anton Fugger for his economic aid to the house of Austria." To see the well-known dependence of the Hapsburgs on Fugger money (by 1530 Hapsburg debts entered in Anton's ledgers had passed one million florins) spelled out in detail is not only fascinating, but should prove conducive to a reevaluation of the entire fiscal policy of the period.

To the student of economic history, especially of entrepreneurial and banking history, the annotations provide a veritable treasure trove. Here the reader finds the details of innumerable financial and commercial transactions, inventories, production figures, and a wealth of new information on conditions in southeastern Europe. Here, also, archival nuggets are brought together from over eighty archives and libraries, most of which, in abstract form, are published for the first time. This section bespeaks the author's prodigious labors carried on in preparation for this work and constitutes his most valuable contribution to scholarship. There are a few errors, which with one or two exceptions are of a minor nature. Von Pölnitz' style is not easy, primarily because of his indirect approach, which borders at times on the opaque. An index of seventy-three pages by Walther E. Vock and a genealogical table are useful aids.

*Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn*

FELIX F. STRAUSS

THE FORMATION OF THE BALTIC STATES: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF GREAT POWER POLITICS UPON THE EMERGENCE OF LITHUANIA, LATVIA, AND ESTONIA. By *Stanley W. Page*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 39.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 193. \$4.50.)

In the words of the author, this study "is the first attempt to examine in detail, and comparatively, the sequence of events through which" the three Baltic States passed "in the process of becoming independent nations." The compact and readable volume succeeds very well indeed in analyzing and describing the events of 1917-1920 that enabled these nations to free themselves from Russian, German, and Soviet bondage and to embark upon their existence as sovereign states. A short introductory chapter dealing with the period before 1914 suffices to sketch the historical background against which the events of 1914-1920 must of necessity be projected. It is of course clear that it was robust national consciousness among these peoples—largely a product of the nineteenth century—that furnished the indispensable underpinnings of their independence endeavors during the chaotic months that preceded and followed the end of the war. Favored by circumstances over which they had at best only limited control, they were destined to benefit by events that stemmed from the larger developments of big power politics.

In the author's view, all of the big powers emerge from their involvement in the "Baltic Paradox" with tarnished escutcheons. The Germans, cocks of the walk after Brest-Litovsk, attempted to set up puppet regimes ready to do the bidding of Berlin. The diplomacy of the Allies "resorted to duplicity and evasion" when the occasion demanded it, and Soviet Russia did not desire to see the Baltic peoples free and independent, even though by April 1919 the Soviet government, according to the author, "had shown a sincere desire for peace and had indicated that the popular will" of these nations "would be taken seriously." Regarding the Baltic peoples themselves, the author ascribes their short-lived independence to favorable circumstances, destined to vanish as soon as "Russia and Germany had regained their strength." That had presumably occurred by 1939 when, if one reads the intention of the author correctly, "strength" had become a natural and unavoidable synonym for "aggression" capable of reducing the Baltic nations to new Soviet servitude.

*Columbia University*

JOHN H. WUORINEN

NICHOLAS I AND OFFICIAL NATIONALITY IN RUSSIA, 1825-1855. By *Nicholas V. Riasanovsky*. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 296. \$5.00.)

THE thirty-year reign of Nicholas I is the Metternich era of Russia; retro-



spectively it marks the beginning of the end of the *ancien régime* of that country. On the surface Russian Metternichism differed somewhat from its prototype in the West, yet in essence the goal was the same: to restore the damaged social order during the turbulent period of the French Revolution. Protagonists such as Count S. Uvarov hoped to refortify the tottering state with three pillars: Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. In a broad sense this is the gist of Professor Riasanovsky's study—the application of the indigenous political philosophy of the Metternich era to Russian conditions. The entire subject is covered in six chapters under the following headings: "The Emperor," "The Men," "The Ideas," "Domestic and Foreign Affairs," "Conclusion."

A nineteenth-century writer, Alexander Nikitenko, aptly concluded on one occasion that the chief fault of the reign of Nicholas I "consisted in the fact that it was all a mistake." Riasanovsky comes virtually to the same conclusion though less forthrightly. His implication is that the "mistake" was derived from the fact that the fallacious policy throughout the three decades had been pursued with fatalistic consistency, but he hastens to moderate the verdict by insisting that "both sides must be seen." On one occasion the author states the opinion that the roots of the fallacious policy might be traced to the very state that Peter I had created. Such an assumption is rather vague; too many developments of later date have been presented as the acts of that great sovereign. Riasanovsky attributes the problems of the time to the universal legacy of the Napoleonic period.

Though the author admits that Nicholas I was by no means a chaste Joseph, nonetheless he pleads that one must "appreciate the difficulties of his position." Bearing in mind that the difficult position referred to resulted largely from the misjudgment of his time and the misinterpretation of the historical mission of Russian autocracy by Nicholas I himself, the plea is bound to arouse no sympathies. National leaders and particularly absolute rulers such as Nicholas I are judged by the summation of their achievements or failures. In the case of Nicholas I the end of his reign was marked by Sevastopol in external events and a society brought to the brink of catastrophe in domestic affairs. It is precisely "the soundness of the beliefs of Nicholas I" that led to the sorrowful year of 1855, which Riasanovsky senses only too well even though diffidently.

The critical remarks expressed above should in no way obscure the fact that Riasanovsky's work is to be greeted as an encouraging sign in the field of Russian history. The book is based on extensive research, on the utilization of the best available Russian sources, and answers a need for the study of the earlier periods of Russian history. Only by delving deeper into that country's past will a better understanding of events of our own age be more intelligently grasped. For these reasons the present work is indeed a welcome contribution to Russian and East European studies.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

PAN-TURKISM AND ISLAM IN RUSSIA. By *Serge A. Zenkovsky*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 36.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. x, 345. \$6.75.)

IN recent years two excellent studies, Richard Pipes's *Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism 1917-1923* (1954), and Charles W. Hostler's *Turkism and the Soviets* (1957), dealt with the Mohammedan peoples of the former Russian Empire. Now Professor Serge A. Zenkovsky of Stetson University has added a more detailed analysis of the rise of nationalism among the Turkish-speaking peoples of Russia at the end of the nineteenth century and of the transformation that this nationalism experienced through the revolutionary Russian movements from 1905 to 1920-1921, when the new Soviet era established its sway over all the Islamic and Turkish peoples of the Empire.

Zenkovsky's study is based on careful and wide research and will remain for a long time the authoritative source book for students of the nationalism of this rather remote part of the Islamic world. There are in Russia some Mohammedans who do not speak Turkic languages, and though there are on the other hand some Turkic-speaking peoples who are not Mohammedans, on the whole Turkism and Islam go together in the Soviet Empire. As in all other parts of the Islamic world the Turkic people felt themselves to be, until recently, primarily Mohammedans and "the Turkic national awakening was preceded by a Moslem cultural revival." Even in 1917 religious terminology predominated over a purely nationalist one, and only the ensuing secularization of most aspects of life led to a more intensive cultural and political consciousness of separate national identity.

Zenkovsky rightly stresses the fact that the revolution of 1917 caught the Islamic peoples in Russia, as it did the other less developed nationalities of the Empire, in a transitional stage and their leadership in the process of formation. He overemphasizes supposed similarities of Islamic tradition and Communist ideology. Both are supranational and claim universality and both believe in the establishment of social justice, but so does Christianity. It is true that in 1917 Moslem intellectuals in Russia became influenced by Communist propaganda, but so too did Christian and Jewish intellectuals.

Originally the Turkic leaders believed that the Soviet government would honor its promises of recognizing their traditions and aspirations for national autonomy. The politically shortsighted Great Russian chauvinism of the White armies repelled many of the awakening nationalities. But it was the political and organizational immaturity of the incipient nationalist movements among the Mohammedan and other less developed nationalities of the Empire in the crucial years of 1917 to 1920 that prevented them from following an effective and coordinated policy. Whether in the following forty years, under the influence of secular education and of the triumph of nationalism throughout Islam, a more clear-cut national move-

ment among the Turkic and Islamic nationalities in the Soviet Union has emerged Zenkovsky promises to discuss in a later volume.

*City College of New York*

HANS KOHN

THE PROPHET UNARMED, TROTSKY: 1921-1929. By *Isaac Deutscher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 490. \$9.50.)

IN this magnificent volume—the second of a projected trilogy—Mr. Deutscher traces Trotsky's dramatic fall from the heights of prestige and seeming power which he had enjoyed at the conclusion of the civil war. The book opens when Trotsky's position in the Soviet Union was second only to Lenin's; it traces his minor frictions with Lenin; it details Trotsky's failure to take advantage of every asset at his disposal in order to strengthen his position and to embarrass the various coalitions which Stalin skillfully assembled against him; and as it draws to a close it projects a picture of the resisting Trotsky being forcibly clothed by officials of the GPU and carried down the stairs of his apartment to the accompaniment of boos from family and friends, to be sent off from a railroad shunting into exile, first in Central Asia and then abroad. The story, inherently dramatic, is told with such skill and psychological insight that this book, together with the preceding volume, must rank not only as the best full-length biography of any Soviet leader presently available, but also probably as the best survey of Bolshevik politics in the 1920's. Much of its value derives from the effective use Deutscher made of the unique materials deposited in the Trotsky Archive at Harvard, although, unfortunately, his references to documents from this collection are not always as precise as one might desire.

Deutscher is a great admirer of Trotsky, and his account is frankly partisan in character. As the title of the trilogy suggests, he views his hero in terms of a prophet, and, furthermore, he explicitly states that Trotsky had a "heroic character" which has "only very few equals in history." Much of the narrative revolves around the twin themes of prophecy and heroism, although, it must be pointed out, Deutscher is careful to produce all the evidence, even when it conflicts with these estimates. And indeed there is much discrepancy between the evidence he adduces and the claims he makes.

Personal courage and intellectual honesty Trotsky undoubtedly possessed, in sharp contrast to the other contenders for Lenin's mantle who were cowardly and deceitful to a remarkable degree. But if by heroism one means the willingness to fight for one's convictions, then even the record presented by Deutscher indicates a singular lack of heroism in Trotsky. The striking impression that this volume makes on the reader, its principal message as it were, is not that Trotsky fought and failed, but rather that he never fought at all. At every point in his conflict with Stalin, when action, or merely a strong speech, would have rallied his followers—above all at the crucial party congresses, the twelfth, thirteenth, and four-

teenth—Trotsky was either silent or absent. Even as late as 1927, when his followers made a final desperate effort to stand up to the ruling clique, he found reason to depart for the Caucasus. Instead of heroism the record indicates a tendency to escapism and even self-destruction. Trotsky not only failed to fight back but, once the issue was clearly settled in favor of his opponents, boldly challenged his enemies to liquidate him. The true heroes of the Revolution were not at Lenin's side but among the opposition, democratic and socialist, who perished fighting the Soviet regime, while Trotsky was with the oppressors.

Nor are Trotsky's alleged prophetic qualities more convincingly demonstrated. It is true that in the 1920's he had worked out some of the principal policies later adopted by Stalin, including economic planning and forced industrialization. But by so doing he revealed imagination rather than insight into the course of events. For the fact remains that on most important contemporary issues, domestic and foreign, Trotsky proved to have been dismally wrong. He analyzed the European situation in terms of an imminent revolution and an impending Anglo-American conflict, and the situation in Russia in terms of a Thermidorian reaction. Even his analyses of Chinese events, for which he is usually given much credit, turn out to have been less prescient than is usually thought. Deutscher's researches have convinced him that Trotsky was not clearly aware of the "magnitude and gravity of the approaching crisis in communist policy" in China, and he dismisses claims of Trotsky's special and early insights into the Chinese situation as "vulgar Trotskyism."

Deutscher's masterful account emphasizes and enlightens the great puzzle of Trotsky's failure. In part Trotsky was a victim of his own assumptions and loyalties: his wholehearted acceptance of the economic interpretation of history tended to blind him to the realities of politics and public opinion, while his Bolshevik loyalty to the party tied his hands once the struggle for political power and mass following got on its way. But behind these factors one suspects a fundamental failure of character. Deep inside the Commissar of War there lurked something of Dmitrii Nikolaevich Rudin.

*Harvard University*

RICHARD PIPES

## Near East

OIL AND STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By *George Lenczowski*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 379. \$6.75.)

PUBLICISTS have often portrayed oil development in the Middle East in lurid colors emphasizing the sensational and sordid. Fortunately, in recent years competent scholars have been analyzing the record of those oil developments more dispassionately. Their books do not have the swift pace of best-seller fiction, and

the reader must keep his wits about him if he is to understand, for example, such intricate legal matters as Professor Lenczowski unravels. This is not to criticize the organization of the book, which is clear and logical, or the style, which is as straightforward and direct as the complexity of the subject permits.

The author has chosen to explore neglected facets of the subject which would contribute to a better understanding of the significance of Middle Eastern oil as an instrument of social change. His effort at some points overlaps David Finnie's excellent shorter monograph, *Desert Enterprise*, where the emphasis was on business enterprise. But Lenczowski is interested in a broader spectrum of political, economic, legal, and cultural issues.

A brief summary of the organization can only begin to convey the scope of the book. An introductory section sketches briefly the acquisition of the concessions, the meaning of the oil for European economies, and its influence on economic development in the Middle East. Nearly half the book is devoted to relationships between the companies and the host governments with attention to the pattern of concession-agreements, legal and political safeguards, handling of government relations by the companies, territorial claims in submarine areas and desert borders, and excellent discussions of pipeline issues and plans for international control, including Pan-Arab control. The next two parts treat, respectively, company relations with the public in host countries, and with their employees. A major contribution is his analysis of the important role now played by the Pan-Arab labor movement. The last section is a revealing case study using the Suez crisis of 1956-1957 to show the interplay of the many aspects of the oil problem previously examined in detail.

Lenczowski was unusually well equipped to undertake this study: he has lived in the area; he has proved his scholarly aptitude in an earlier monograph on great power politics in Iran; he has facility in Middle Eastern languages; and he has supplemented the traditional library research by several field trips to observe the oil industry at work and to interview company officials and political personages affected by Middle Eastern oil.

The author preserves a careful balance between objectivity and normative judgments, for he understands both the enormous instability confronting the companies and remains sensitive to the imperatives of Arab and Iranian nationalism. While he is not starry-eyed about possibilities for long-range accommodation between the companies and host governments and populations, neither is he despairing. If accommodation is obtainable, it can come only within a framework of respect for sanctity of contracts combined with a flexible attitude on the part of the companies toward equitable renegotiation of concession terms as conditions change.

*Pennsylvania State University*

JOHN A. DeNOVO

TURKEY'S POLITICS: THE TRANSITION TO A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. By *Kemal H. Karpat*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 522. \$7.50.)

"PARTY politics and all that it entails," remarks Professor Karpat in a footnote, "has become the greatest social event in practically all the small localities of Turkey." How this remarkable political development, unparalleled since the halcyon days just after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, came about, ending two decades under a one-party system, is his subject. The social and intellectual climate in which this transformation took place is examined as well.

The meat of Karpat's study, and by all odds the best part of it from the historian's point of view, is a one-hundred-page section on the crucial period from 1945 to 1950. These years saw the establishment and rapid growth of the Democratic party to the point where in the elections of 1950 it could oust the Republican People's party from control of the state which the first Republican leader, Atatürk, had founded. This is an exciting story, well told from contemporary news accounts and debates in the National Assembly, of gradual liberalization of the regime, acrimonious controversy, intraparty quarrels, and the establishment of the principle of "secret ballot, open counting" that led to the Democratic landslide of 1950. Karpat does not say forthrightly that the tabulation in the 1946 elections was fraudulent, as some foreign observers thought at the time, but he quotes the Democrats' charges that this was the case.

As background to this political revolution, the first section of the book provides a sketchy summary of reform and politics in the later years of the Ottoman Empire and an analysis of the Kemalist regime and its sequel under İnönü to the end of World War II, showing clearly how the discontent within the regime had developed among various groups in the country, especially with regard to their economic status.

To this basic political history Karpat adds what is almost a second book, although with considerable repetition and cross reference, on developments in the social, economic, intellectual, and political spheres from 1946 well into the 1950's. Some of his subjects here are slippery—it is hard to deal with "populism" and "reformism," for instance, even though these are two of the six basic principles of the Turkish Republic, because these concepts lack well-defined content. By contrast, the chapters on the impact of the religious revival and of Communism and leftist thought on Turkish public life are much more solid. Toward the end the author, who is both a Turk and a political scientist, turns pamphleteer in a way, offering liberal nonpartisan advice on needed revisions in the Turkish concept of nationalism, on desirable constitutional and electoral reforms, on the dangers of religious reaction, on the need for a completely free discussion of basic issues, and on the necessity to develop a new combination of economic planning and free private enterprise. He criticizes both Republicans and Democrats on occasion for



shallowness of program or for sacrificing principle to tactical advantage. Unless conditions change, he foresees a Republican victory in 1961.

Because of the book's arrangement, with overlapping, the latter sections are not always easy reading. The very full footnotes will bother some, but will be a boon to other scholars, as will also the lengthy bibliography.

*George Washington University*

RODERIC H. DAVISON

## Far East

THE AGRARIAN ORIGINS OF MODERN JAPAN. By *Thomas C. Smith*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilization of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 250. \$5.00.)

LAND REFORM IN JAPAN. By *R. P. Dore*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii, 510. \$8.80.)

THESE two extraordinarily well-informed works add a much-needed dimension to our understanding of the agrarian foundations of the modern Japanese state. Together they tell the story of Japan's dramatic strides toward modernization of her land system, a story that is thrown into perspective by the recent traumatic experiences of other Asian peoples in land reform. Both books are based on a wealth of Japanese sources, and the authors support their arguments with ably handled statistics.

Professor Smith's study is concentrated on the period from 1600 to 1850, the so-called "seclusion period." In it he has authoritatively revised the common picture of a stagnant and backward agrarian economy whose peasants had been goaded by feudal masters to the point of widespread uprisings. Though cut off from the rest of the world, Japanese agriculture and the peasant population of the villages underwent a number of basic changes, important because they prepared the way for Japan's first modern land reform in 1871. These changes are seen against a description of the traditional village structure of the seventeenth century characterized by strong social stratification and hierarchal rigidity, the use of bound families of agricultural servants, and a dependence on labor services and large-scale cooperative arrangements. In the next century and a half many of these regressive features of village life were cast aside, chiefly as a result of technological improvement, increased productivity, and the growth of market production. The resulting trend was toward a two-class village community of landowners and tenants based increasingly on contractual relationships. Within the land-owning class, mobility became much greater than was commonly suspected, and

the wealthy farmer was able to achieve not only a modicum of political self-satisfaction, but an education of some sophistication. Here certainly is a new picture of the condition of the Japanese countryside in 1850, one that does much to explain Japan's remarkable success in social and economic modernization after 1868. One could wish that the last chapter, in which the author attempts to link his study to the elements of Japanese success in state modernization, had followed more concretely from the body of his earlier arguments. In particular, the attempt to show that the agrarian community offered political leadership in the Restoration movement is not prepared for, and as a consequence, seems too hypothetical. Is not the significance of the political action of the wealthy peasant that, in the years after 1868, he was able to move out of the village into prefectural politics taking the place of samurai administrators and thereby providing stability to prefectural government? A more complete study of the relationship of village to daimio administration would have helped clarify this issue.

The first land reform of 1871, whereby the former peasants were given outright title to their land and freedom to buy and sell, is not treated in either book. It was indeed a remarkable reform in view of the vested political interests which frustrated similar moves elsewhere in Asia. The reform did nothing, however, to change the system of small-scale fragmented cultivation, the already extant conditions of tenancy, and the heavy burden of taxation upon the land. The result was Japan's particular agricultural malaise of tenancy, which worsened as the state pressed forward on the industrial front. Professor Dore describes vividly the mounting agricultural crises of the twentieth century and the ineffectual attempts of the government to meliorate tenant distress. He considers meticulously the question of whether the landownership system was related to Japan's military aggressions, coming to a qualified affirmative. After developing the case for the necessity of further reform, he takes up the story of the Allied occupation sponsored measures. Certainly, as he points out, the result was one of the most thoroughgoing land redistributions in history, for nearly a third of Japan's total cultivated land changed hands. That the reform had its roots in Japanese political thinking is clear, yet it took defeat in war and the first flush of occupation idealism to bring it into reality. The major portion of Dore's book assesses the results of this remarkable reform. In his judgment the reform measures improved the lot of the majority of small farmers, though it created inequities for the former large village landowners and the least well off. Tenancy was not fully eliminated, and the continuing problems of overpopulation and too small holdings have not been solved. Socially and politically the reform brought about a more open rural society and a freer play of politics. Most significantly, it took the land issue out of Japanese politics. The Japanese farmer finds himself in an enviable position among Asian agriculturalists and has little cause to take up the standard of "struggle" being pressed upon his counterparts in neighboring countries. Dore is especially skillful as he advances through the intricacies of postwar village and national politics,

treating party policies and attitudes, cooperative movements, and landlord organizations and their latent effects upon rural conditions in the future.

*University of Michigan*

JOHN WHITNEY HALL

JAPAN'S AMERICAN INTERLUDE. By *Kazuo Kawai*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. c. 1960. Pp. vii, 257. \$5.00.)

THIS absorbing book of twelve piquant and provocative essays contributes, as the author hoped it would, some insights into Japan that are beyond the ken of Western observers. In other respects, too, it has the touch of the master's hand. Only Kazuo Kawai could have written it. Japanese-born and domiciled in Japan during the Pacific war, he knows the Japanese mind; American-educated, teacher at the University of California, Los Angeles, during the decade before the war, and professor of political science at Ohio State University since 1951, he also knows the American mind. As editor of Tokyo's influential English-language daily *Nippon Times* from 1945 to 1949, with free access to American and Japanese personages, he deepened and refined his knowledge of West and East while commenting upon the occupation program as it unfolded step by step. His masterly editorials on such significant and controversial subjects as the revised constitution, national polity, popular sovereignty, local autonomy, trust busting, land reform, labor unions, civil service, and education, the stuff of which the book is made, reflected by and large the sentiments of Japanese intellectuals, who were generally in sympathy with the Potsdam Declaration requirement for removing "all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people," but critical of the abrupt and, to them, inelegant manner in which it was carried out by practical-minded United States soldiers and civil servants. "Most of the interpretations in the book," to quote the author, "are distillations of views expounded, or occasionally only discreetly inferred, in the editorials."

Kawai has produced the best work to date on this difficult and critical interlude in Japan's history. Future students of the period must start from his hypotheses and arguments. Although he endorses the objectives of the occupation, he contends with emphasis that the structure of Japanese society is still distorted from the violent wrenching it sustained at the hands of an occupation staff lacking the necessary qualifications to tinker with the institutional framework of an exotic culture. Regarding occupation personalities, he praises the only two whose names are mentioned in the book, General MacArthur and Joseph M. Dodge, and flays no more than three or four unnamed officials. Several SCAP sections are raked over the coals for their bungling, but just one, the Civil Information and Education Section, is utterly roasted.

The author's central theme is that a genuine democratic movement has been in progress in Japan since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and that its tempo was vastly accelerated, but its character not basically changed, in the postwar period.

Japan today, he believes, is manifestly more democratic than the Japan of even ten years ago. The stimulus for this transformation he attributes to the occupation which, he says, "for all its shortcomings must be judged on balance as a magnificent success." Eschewing the crystal ball approach to the status of democracy in Japan a generation hence, he intimates nevertheless that representative government should continue to prosper there, provided free world ramparts everywhere are maintained and strengthened.

There is an excellent annotated bibliography of the best postwar English-language books and articles on the occupation of Japan, most of them written by American scholars and journalists.

*Washington, D. C.*

JUSTIN WILLIAMS

## America

### STUDIES IN AMERICAN CULTURE: DOMINANT IDEAS AND IMAGES.

Edited by *Joseph J. Kwiat* and *Mary C. Turpie*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. c. 1960. Pp. viii, 233. \$4.75.)

LIKE every other book that is composed of fifteen essays by fifteen authors, this one presents that number of faces, and the look of them is uneven. Yet, because the collection was gathered to honor the late Tremaine McDowell, and two-thirds of the essays were written by colleagues or former colleagues in the Program in American Studies which he chaired at the University of Minnesota, there is no surprise in discovering that most of the fifteen are addressed to one or the other of two principal kinds of effort. Eight authors concern themselves with method in American studies. Either they discuss it broadly, as Henry Nash Smith does in the lead essay and Robert Spiller in the concluding one; or else they examine it or demonstrate it quite particularly, in several essays in the form of literary analysis. Of this group the piece by Leo Marx on the vernacular tradition in American literature will be of special interest to historians.

Seven essays may be classified, though not so rigidly so as to exclude other classifications, as being in one sense or another historical. Of the five of these that concern the substance of events two may be recommended particularly: John W. Ward's discussion of "The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight" is a little precious according to this reviewer's taste in writing, but his main points come through nonetheless strongly and suggestively; David Weimer's argument by illustration that labor history can be something other and more humane than the story of organizations and their programs is a message overdue to historians. But no other essay in the volume says quite so much so well as does Allen Tate's bit of reminiscence concerning the flowering of southern letters after World War I. Of the two essays in historiography, J. C. Levenson's on "Henry Adams on the Culture

of Science" is a first-rate contribution, but Charles H. Foster's effort to apply Paul Tillich's idea of "theonomy" to the interpretation of American culture reaches farther than it grasps.

As one who determinedly resists making an academic discipline of "American Civilization," this reviewer might be expected to find it easy to believe that that effort is ebbing, even when the testimony is a volume to honor Tremaine McDowell. Yet I think that the most detached reading of Henry Nash Smith's carefully balanced argument about method will find less than a full conviction in favor of the study of national culture as a discipline and that Robert Spiller's discussion of the past, present, and future of that undertaking will find a story of hopes reconsidered and changed.

*Johns Hopkins University*

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE ECLIPSE OF COMMUNITY: AN INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN STUDIES. By *Maurice R. Stein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. 354. \$6.00.)

THIS is a study in sociology. The purpose is to erect "a framework for relating disparate community studies to each other" and to "develop a theory of American community life." The phenomena of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization provide the base for both the framework and the theory. Field studies are used to illustrate the influence of these forces on old community patterns and the emergence of a new, but uneasy, social organization.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, "Foundations," is concerned with the study of "natural areas" by Robert Park and his students; the industrialization of a semirural and skilled craft society by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd; and bureaucratization in a one-industry, ethnically integrated town by Lloyd Warner. The author discusses, analyzes, and compares methods, purpose, and conclusions of each, and indicates that the generalizations of Park, the Lynds, and Warner presuppose theories of community development that could be applied elsewhere with equal effectiveness. Professor Stein points out, however, that the effect of "natural areas" in Chicago, industrialization in Muncie, or bureaucratization of Newburyport would not necessarily be the same in another locality. More communities must be examined, each to be studied as a separate case history to show changing social structure, before a theory can be advanced.

In the second part, "Development," the foregoing idea is developed. With the same techniques of analysis, discussion, and comparison used previously, he examines a variety of community studies. A slum is shown to have social organization and control, and not to be a disorganized society as regarded by the students of Park. He traces the changing social systems of a Bohemian community, Greenwich Village, and he analyzes the life patterns in three types of suburbs. Regional diversity, such as the comparison of Muncie with Newburyport in Part I, is ex-

panded by exploring studies of the Deep South. The influence of caste and class in American society is also examined.

Part III, "Perspectives," argues the need of using anthropological and psychoanalytic techniques and findings in community studies. These sciences sharpen the sense between reality and ideology and aid interpretation. The epilogue draws together some loose ends, but it is chiefly a handbook for sociologists, warning them of pitfalls.

The framework for relating the disparate studies through method is fairly clear, but the development of a theory is vague. (Perhaps this is because I am a historian and not a sociologist.) Stein shows that the forces of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization tend to lead toward greater personal interdependence, anxiety, and a willingness to exchange individual initiative for conformity and collective security. The historian will have to consider other aspects in addition to those presented in this book, but the author has drawn a thought-provoking interpretation of present-day American society, which students of cultural and social history should consider.

Wayne State University

JOE L. NORRIS

POLITICAL REALISM AND THE CRISIS OF WORLD POLITICS: AN AMERICAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY. By *Kenneth W. Thompson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 261. \$5.00.)

In this wide-ranging study of what he terms the crisis of world politics, Mr. Thompson attempts to come to grips with the apparent conflict between idealism and realism in formulating American foreign policy. His approach is not particularly original or individualistic; he draws very heavily from earlier writing upon this problem. But rather than stressing what in some quarters is considered a clear-cut dichotomy between realism and idealism, Thompson emphasizes the importance of a thoroughly realistic and pragmatic attitude toward the immediate urgencies of the world situation without sacrificing the long-term vision of a durable peace that cannot be immediately realized. His final conclusion is that the chief virtue of political realism is its unqualified emphasis upon the techniques and methods of diplomacy in slowly seeking to ameliorate the present impasse in world affairs.

The first section of the book deals specifically with views on the need for realism in foreign policy—as opposed to a moralistic, legalistic approach—expressed by a number of well-known theorists and practitioners. They include such writers as Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau, Walter Lippmann, George F. Kennan, and a varied group of both American and English "statesmen as philosophers." The next section treats such broad topics as the limits of principle in international politics, the problem of isolationism and collective security, and "the



American dilemma" as brought out by such divergent elements in the national scene as the demands of domestic politics, our historic tradition of anticolonialism, the concept of morality in international politics, and the inherent complexities of democratic diplomacy. Finally a very brief epilogue, which in itself reflects the great difficulties in applying any sort of theory in seeking to cope with today's intractable conflict between opposing power blocs, tries rather vaguely to suggest the role that political realism may play in contributing toward the ultimate goal of world peace. There is a healthy skepticism in Thompson's attitude on our ability to resolve these problems, but he also reflects faith in the world's ultimately being able to survive the current crisis.

The ramifications of such a broad study preclude any real analysis in a brief review. It may be said, however, that following the lead of the "realists" whom he quotes so extensively, Thompson strongly stresses the limits of American policy, the fact that there can be no absolutes in world politics, the importance of recognizing the role of power, the dangers of acting on the premise that American-style democracy should be considered a universal goal, and, perhaps above all, the unhappy consequences of the moralizing to which Americans are so prone. On the other hand, he does not discount the fundamental importance of the ideals that must continue to provide a framework for any long-term American policy that will command popular support.

There are times when the author inevitably becomes somewhat bogged down in the semantic difficulties inherent in any discussion of such abstractions as realism and idealism, conservatism and liberalism, in the field of foreign policy. He is often repetitious in drawing upon his sources and then rephrasing their ideas in a somewhat different context. Occasionally he seems to be contradictory in his assessment of the record of the postwar years—at once highly critical and yet suggesting that our policy has been "moderately prudent and realistic." On the whole, however, there is much in this book that is sound good sense, and even more that is provocative and stimulating. If Thompson has not wholly succeeded in giving us the precise outlines of a more effective approach to foreign policy, his study is a valuable warning of the dangers of a too naïve, moralistic, or idealistic attitude.

*Ohio State University*

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

TO TRY MEN'S SOULS: LOYALTY TESTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By *Harold M. Hyman*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 414. \$6.00.)

THIS study of a moral problem, with its eloquent title, enlarges a suggestion that much of today's scholarship contains, that historiography is once again seeking light from the past on present needs of the republic. Scholars with the purpose and skill to focus the historian's microscope on events representing distrust and anxiety are never very numerous, and the nature of their occupation prevents them

from being early on the job. But when their work is well done their report is uncommonly telling. While on principle there is never a right time to welcome overwriting, the great mass of facts in this book is reassuring, though I think they have led Hyman into some inflation. An author, less devoted to fact, treating the same events might easily veer into dogmatism and never gain the force that Hyman cumulates.

The author quotes Newton D. Baker: "It may be that the formulation and repetition of some particular pledge will be of fundamental help, but I am not quite sure"; and he voices the hope that the present book will "remove some of the uncertainty." But if Hyman candidly dislikes loyalty oaths and would prefer to have his country free of all forms of loyalty testing because it evokes more lying than truth, his dislike corresponds to a physician's aversion to hysteria. He presents as having been a natural and unavoidable part of life during the epoch of colonization a need to recognize dissenters and Roman Catholics within Protestant England and the colonies, and he understands that oath taking before God at the time contained inner sanctions which are not so compelling today. My loyalty to the task of reviewing was strained, for one instance, by the number of pages devoted to the loyalty problems of Virginia during Bacon's Rebellion. But since this history, covering nearly four centuries from the later years of Elizabeth I to Eisenhower, shows loyalty testing to have occurred in all great crises of American history, Hyman's quantity of fact also becomes quality of insight into the ethics of political existence.

Hyman explains the evolution of loyalty testing from that performed by volunteer groups, the states, and the army during the Revolution, with George Washington participating, to the almost monopolized and almost civilized tests by federal agencies during World War II, and finally to the recent degradation that the people have named "McCarthyism." The author's findings to date are: northern loyalty testing was more effective than Confederate, 1861-1865; federal testing has been more efficient than state; the presidential role has been more restrained than the congressional; and professional testing has been more judicious than voluntary.

Because he is a historian, Hyman does not inquire what the ultimate development of the FBI may be. He does overwhelmingly suggest what he does not need to spell out: that loyalty testing accompanies sovereignty in periods of war and revolution.

*Johns Hopkins University*

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE WEST POINT ATLAS OF AMERICAN WARS. Volume I, 1689-1900; Volume II, 1900-1953. Edited by *Colonel Vincent J. Esposito*. Compiled by the Department of Military Art and Engineering, the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959.

Pp. xiv, 158, 158 maps; xi, 71, 71 maps, vi, 168, 168 maps, 15, 15 maps. \$47.50 the set.)

THE United States Military Academy at West Point is unique in many respects, including the fact that it is the only educational institution in this country offering a full course in the history of the military art. Taught largely in terms of battles and campaigns, this course traces the evolution of the art of war from ancient times, with emphasis on the principles of war, military leadership, and the development of weapons and tactics.

Texts for such a course posed many problems, and over the years the department of military art and engineering has developed most of its own texts, with accompanying atlases. Those maps dealing with the United States have now been brought together into two volumes, with descriptive text, and made available to the public as *The West Point Atlas of American Wars*. Included in them are more than four hundred three-color plates, many with two or more maps, drawn with a clarity, accuracy, and simplicity that is all too rare in map making. For the reader unfamiliar with the symbols of military cartography, there is included in each volume a convenient table of the symbols used. Together these volumes constitute one of the most useful and handsome compilations I have seen, a tribute to the publisher's art and the editor's skill.

In a sense the title of this work does not do it justice, for it is more than an atlas. Accompanying the maps and printed on the facing page, is a descriptive text prepared especially for the present edition by Colonel Esposito and his colleagues. Subordinate to the maps and intended primarily to explain them, this text, totaling almost a quarter of a million words, provides in fact a detailed narrative of operations of every major battle and campaign of the major wars in American history. In addition the reader will find a recommended reading list and very useful chronologies in tabular form for each of the wars covered.

Though *The West Point Atlas* does more than its title promises, it also does less. For this is primarily a work dealing with land warfare. The compilers acknowledge this and seek to remedy the omission of maps covering naval and air operations by appropriate references in the text. But they have succeeded only partially, as is evidenced by the scanty coverage in maps and text of naval operations in the Revolution and the War of 1812, and more particularly in the cursory treatment given the advance of Admiral Nimitz' forces across the central Pacific in World War II. Nor can the authors make any claim for completeness. Coverage of the colonial period is extremely sketchy, and there is no treatment at all of the Indian wars, which extended over three hundred years of American history and did much to shape the United States Army.

One could disagree also with the emphasis given to the various wars. Almost two-thirds of the space in the *Atlas* are devoted to four wars: the Civil War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. The last alone, with fifteen maps

and equivalent text, receives more space than the colonial wars, the War of 1812, the Mexican, and the Spanish-American Wars combined. Seven maps are devoted to Hitler's campaign against Poland in 1939 and ten to Second Bull Run, as compared to three for the entire American Revolution. This emphasis, understandable perhaps in view of the special needs of the cadets at West Point, is reflected in the text. Admirable as it is, it suffers from the limitations imposed by the format and by its primary function to explain the map, rather than the other way around, as would ordinarily be the case. Despite these weaknesses, *The West Point Atlas* is the most useful, and certainly the most complete and clearest collection of maps on American wars that has yet appeared.

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA: ESSAYS IN COLONIAL HISTORY. Edited by *James Morton Smith*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. c. 1959. Pp. xv, 238. \$5.00.)

THIS collection of nine essays is the record of a symposium sponsored by the Institute of Early American History and Culture in the spring of 1957, the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement. In the words of the editor the papers propose "to examine some of the more important manifestations of American colonial experience." The essayists wrote "on what they knew best and what interested them most about the seventeenth century." Systematic coverage was not the object. The reader need not expect it.

Yet the essays do cover a surprising amount of ground in a selective way. A bright, provocative paper by Oscar Handlin, "The Significance of the Seventeenth Century," opens the series with comment on the adjustment of colonists to the conditions of their life in America. Handlin finds the significance of the century in the development of "peculiarities of character and institutions, the influence of which was long thereafter felt in the history of the United States." In some degree the following four sections elaborate this theme.

Section II, "Colonists and Indians," contains two essays, the first by Wilcomb E. Washburn on the justifications for dispossessing the natives and the second by Nancy O. Lurie on "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization." Miss Lurie finds that the seventeenth-century experience of the Virginia Indians laid the foundations for modern adjustment to the white man's culture.

"People and Society," the third section, has two exceptionally excellent papers, of quite different character. Mildred Campbell's "Social Origins of Some Early Americans" is a model of careful research and analysis on this difficult but important subject. Bernard Bailyn's "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia" traces the distinction between local and central authority through three generations of seventeenth-century planters to arrive at a new and highly convincing interpreta-

tion of disturbances in Virginia. Ordinarily the clash between imperial governors and "country born" from the early eighteenth century onward is attributed to a conflict of economic interest, which though nearly always present is not an entirely satisfying explanation in all instances. Bailyn's construction, an important contribution to seventeenth-century historiography, emphasizes the special characteristics of Virginia social evolution through two generations of instability and strife toward a provincial ruling elite, which, however, never succeeded in associating itself with the ultimate sources of political authority. The end result was a dichotomy between political and social leadership, a discontinuity rarely bridged by the identification of external and internal authority. "By the end of the [seventeenth] century a degree of harmony had been achieved, but the divergence between political and social leadership at the topmost level created an area of permanent conflict." Looking forward to some of the consequences he adds, "The political and social structures that emerged were by European standards strangely shaped. Everywhere as the bonds of empire drew tighter the meaning of the state was changing. Herein lay the origins of a new political system."

In Part IV, "Church and State," William H. Seiler's paper on the Anglican parish in Virginia provides a fine case study of the devolution of ecclesiastical control to localities and effectively reflects "the true basis of the colonial church." Emil Oberholzer, Jr., examines church-state relations in the Puritan society of New England and Philip S. Haffenden considers the neglect of the state church as an agency of imperial control by the Restoration government.

A concluding paper by Richard S. Dunn, "Seventeenth Century English Historians of America," follows the gradually diverging differences in outlook toward the establishment of a native American historical perspective distinct from the English imperial view.

As in most collections the individual pieces vary considerably in importance and quality. Doubtless specialists will disagree in the ranking. They will, however, agree that substance merits the inclusion of all and that the collection has been handsomely produced.

*University of Maryland*

AUBREY C. LAND

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA, O.F.M., OR THE MAN WHO NEVER TURNED BACK (1713-1784): A BIOGRAPHY. In two volumes. By *Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.* [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Monograph Series, Volumes V and VI.] (Washington, D. C.: the Academy. 1959. Pp. x, 448; viii, 508. \$12.00 the set.)

SEVENTEEN seventy-six was not only a significant year in the history of English America. It was also meaningful in the Hispanic American world. A viceroyalty was established in Buenos Aires, an event that did much to stimulate the growth of

what was to become Argentina. And in Spanish North America the last significant advance of imperial Spain occurred with the permanent settlement of San Francisco. Between 1769 and 1776 a string of missions-presidios from San Diego to San Francisco was set up. These are cases of defensive expansion. The fear of Russian penetration from Alaska inspired the Spaniards to settle Upper California, just as the desire to wipe out the foreign contraband trade in the Río de la Plata region led to the founding of the viceroyalty there.

The method of colonizing Upper California was the traditional Spanish approach developed over the course of two centuries. Small military garrisons were located near the mission. Painful experience had taught the Spaniards the need of buttressing the missionary enterprise with a modicum of coercion. Primitive peoples seldom evinced any genuine desire to abandon their pagan beliefs and way of life without the threat of some force lurking discretely in the background.

Fray Junípero Serra was the missionary under whose direction his Franciscan order established the missions of Upper California. That he was a priest of remarkable virtues is undeniable; qualities of character have brought him in our time to the threshold of canonization in the Roman Catholic Church.

The present two-volume biography of Serra has been in the making since 1941. Friar Maynard J. Geiger, its Franciscan author, need not apologize for publishing another life of Serra. To be sure, a great deal has already been done on his life, much of it by the late, indefatigable Herbert E. Bolton. But Geiger has conducted a tireless search of the documentary sources scattered in the archives of two continents, and he has come up with significantly fresh material. The documentary sources both new and old have been used with skill, imagination, and a considerable amount of literary good taste. In the tradition of Bolton the newest biographer of Serra has not confined himself to the yellowing pages of the archival manuscripts. He has visited most of the highways and byways in obscure towns, in urban centers, in missions and monasteries where Serra lived and labored. Another useful asset of this study is the reconstruction of the social, religious, political, and economic background of the events in which Serra played a role.

The founding and the consolidation of the California missions were not accomplished without considerable friction between the religious and the military. Ideally their efforts were to complement each other, but in practice there were both irritation and conflict. Geiger sympathetically recounts Serra's difficulties with the military, but one is tempted to speculate that an equally convincing case could be made for the latter's point of view.

The Academy of American Franciscan History deserves congratulations for sponsoring this elegantly printed biography, and its author can take pride in his meticulously documented and readable account of the life and times of Junípero Serra.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

JOHN LEDDY PHELAN



THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF FRANCIS ASBURY. In three volumes. Volume I, THE JOURNAL, 1771 TO 1793; Volume II, THE JOURNAL, 1794 TO 1816; Volume III, THE LETTERS. Edited by *Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton*. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press; London: Epworth Press. 1958. Pp. xxiv, 778; 871; xviii, 603.)

FIFTY-TWO years ago President J. Franklin Jameson of the American Historical Association suggested that the literature of religious leaders offered much for understanding social history in the United States. These volumes are a prime example of Jameson's "*American Acta Sanctorum*," and their subject has attracted the additional interest of the National Historical Publications Commission.

Much commendation can be given. The volumes are, above all, handsome examples of the printer's art, displaying chaste typography, well-reproduced portraits and other halftone illustrations, appropriate drawings and vignettes, and uncluttered maps. One can only rejoice, moreover, at the renewed availability of Asbury's journal. A middle-class Englishman, this Methodist lay preacher had come in 1771 to the British colonies to help shepherd the Wesleyan flock. Despite war and the epithet "Tory," he stayed with the work, to be rewarded when John Wesley designated him and the Anglican clergyman Thomas Coke as joint superintendents of the Methodists in America. Shrewdly Asbury accepted, but only after being elected by his fellow preachers in conference assembled. Within a few years he accepted the title "bishop," though it drew a stinging rebuke from Wesley. Soon Coke gave Asbury the primacy. Thereafter for three decades the slender, ailing leader moved continually over the face of the United States, weaving together the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its structure of ministers and "charges," organized through a hierarchy of "conferences," dominated at every turn by the indefatigable bishop, was the basis for the denomination's remarkable growth in membership and influence during the generation after Asbury's death in 1816.

Alas, a caveat must be entered. The problem of editorial direction is not critical in the case of the two volumes devoted to the journal, for the manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1836. Thus all that was needed was to reproduce the edition of 1821, collating it with previous partial printings and with the 1852 version. This has been done, and the result is the hoped-for "accurate and readable edition" of the bishop's words. Obvious errors, described as "chronological, biographical, geographical, and grammatical," as well as inconsistencies, have been corrected. The editors have also had reasonable success in attempting to identify every place Asbury visited and every home in which he stayed overnight. The utility of the resulting information may be slight, historically speaking, but the gathering must have pleased the essentially antiquarian interests of the three principal editors.

Another difficulty arises with the volume devoted to letters. Diligent search in denominational, university, and public collections, supplemented by reasonably thorough examination of printed volumes and certain files of the various Metho-

dist *Advocates*, disclosed a little more than three hundred Asbury letters. The material of the third volume is thus augmented by documents such as ordination certificates, a few reprinted Wesley letters to Asbury and others, and collaterally related items.

Inconsistent standards of editing occasionally mar the work. Bishop Asbury, unlike Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln in the recent volumes devoted to them, is not permitted to misspell a word. A sixteen-line sketch of Peter Cartwright contains five significant errors of fact. The fundamental difficulty, of course, is that historical-minded church leaders do not always seek the best scholarly advice. While the three editors list as "research editors" fifteen individuals, only one, the late William Warren Sweet, had formal historical training, and he did not have charge of the enterprise. If the reverend gentlemen had brought in seminary professors of church history the result would then have been a uniformly satisfactory work.

Oklahoma State University

THEODORE L. AGNEW

SLAVERY: A PROBLEM IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. By *Stanley M. Elkins*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 247. \$4.50.)

This volume consists of four more or less related essays. It is distinguished by its author's high seriousness of purpose, his praiseworthy willingness to tackle large historical problems, and his careful mastery of the secondary literature of his subject. It is marred by faulty logic, an infelicitous style, and digressions upon such subjects as Burke's view of the American Revolution, Durkheim's theory of suicide, Henry James's ideas on American "innocence," and Harry Stack Sullivan's opinions on "the significant other."

The essays vary considerably in value. The first is a useful review of the historiography of American slavery, which, however, adds very little to Kenneth M. Stampp's admirable essay on the same subject ("The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery," *AHR*, LVII [Apr. 1952]). The second follows Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* in comparing slavery in the United States with slavery in Latin America and arrives at very much the same conclusions. For his discussion of slavery in the United States Elkins has made no use whatever of manuscript records to discover how slaves were actually treated, but has relied chiefly upon southern laws to give a correct picture of the "peculiar institution."

The third essay is the heart of Elkins' book. It is an attempt to ascertain why the southern slave was a "Sambo"—"the typical plantation slave, . . . docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; . . . full of infantile silliness . . . [whose] relationship with his master was one of utter dependence and childlike attachment." Elkins finds that these same traits appeared among the prisoners of German concentration camps in World War

II, and he spins out an elaborate analogy showing "the infantilizing tendencies of absolute power" in the southern plantation and in the concentration camp. Such an argument, of course, suffers from having a dubious unstated major premise—that the southern Negro was indeed a Sambo, something that Elkins assumes but nowhere even attempts to prove. Some time ago Elkins presented this portion of his study before a seminar at the Newberry Library, where a group of experts were devastatingly critical of his theory. Rather than profiting by this criticism, he has concluded that the experts suffered from a lack of familiarity with the use of this "kind of extended metaphor" and has clung firmly to his analogy, despite its poor taste and worse logic.

Elkins' final essay is more satisfactory. Though he erroneously identifies abolitionism and transcendentalism, he argues, with a good deal of plausibility, that "the absence of clear institutional arrangements" in nineteenth-century America kept radical antislavery thought from dealing with any of the concrete evils of slavery and prevented southern proslavery thinkers from criticizing their own institutions.

The final judgment on Elkins' book, then, must be negative. The reading of secondary materials, a broad-ranging interest in other disciplines, and an extended use of comparisons and analogies do not compensate for the want of basic research. One must agree with the author's own evaluation of his book: "It does not pretend to be a history, in either the extended or limited sense."

*Queen's College, Oxford*

DAVID DONALD

THE NEGRO VANGUARD. By *Richard Bardolph*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. c. 1959. Pp. 388. \$6.95.)

THIS work is a panorama of colored notables from Crispus Attucks to Ralph Bunche, its purpose being "to lodge the Negro movers and shakers of American social history more firmly in the record." Negro worthies merit serious consideration, says Bardolph, because of their own contribution to American life as well as their symbolic role among the rank and file of Negroes who, by a familiar process of identification, imaginatively shared in the deeds of these dark-hued men of mark. Nothing if not comprehensive, Bardolph sets his numerous gallery of biographees against a backdrop of three time spans, the first of these periods extending to 1900. Prior to the Civil War the typical Negro leader was one who struck a blow against slavery, an escaped bondman turned abolitionist, like Frederick Douglass, for example, or a Negro rights spokesman like John B. Russwurm, cofounder of the pioneer weekly *Freedom's Journal* and the first college graduate of his race. In the three decades after Appomattox the typical Negro notable was likely to be either a Reconstruction Congressman or a high-ranking clergyman.

The roster of outstanding Negroes from 1900 to 1936, the second of Bardolph's

divisions, bore a more distinctively middle-class stamp, realized a higher level of accomplishment, and revealed a wider variety of occupations than formerly. Church leaders as a class were still the major single group, but now their activities embraced community service and political party participation. A second important category comprised the educators, particularly some thirty college presidents, many of whom were well known in Negro circles although they did not achieve the earlier fame of Booker T. Washington. Included in the vanguard for this middle period were a dozen newspaper publishers, twice that many writers, a handful of first-rate concert musicians, some sixteen sculptors and painters, and a lesser number of scientists. Rounding out the catalogue of notables for this generation were the prize fighters and the businessmen, the former nationally known and the latter operating almost exclusively in a race restricted economy. The period since 1936 has been marked by two phenomena: Negro movers and shakers were to be found in increasingly broader categories, as colored Americans entered more fully into the mainstream of national life; moreover, the status system of the Negro has become more complex, with family connections and mixed blood ancestry playing less important roles. The proportionately larger number of distinguished Negroes in recent decades is suggested by the space the author gives them; three-quarters of his volume is devoted to twentieth-century personages.

Bardolph's most important methodological problem was that of determining membership in the company of the colored elite. The basis for his selection—those “who appear most prominently in the written historical record”—is essentially sound. That the author has combed this record is evident; preceding his “Notes on Authorities” is a “Basic Bibliography,” which is really a careful essay on the printed sources for the study of the nonslave Negro in the United States. Naturally every critic will have his pet notable whom he feels should have been included, and I find unconvincing Bardolph's reasons for excluding “Daddy” Grace, Father Divine, and Back-to-Africa Marcus Garvey. But despite possible dissent with the author concerning someone who managed to escape his tightly drawn net or his evaluation of a given notable, few critics would not agree that *The Negro Vanguard* is a carefully organized work, rich in insights and lively in style. It should be helpful to those classroom teachers, textbook writers, and other purveyors of wisdom who may have occasion to touch upon America's most numerous minority.

Morgan State College

BENJAMIN QUARLES

ASA GRAY, 1810-1888. By *A. Hunter Dupree*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 505. \$7.50.)

THE present book is a distinguished contribution to the history of science in America, specifically the reception of Darwinism by American scholars. Both of these themes are set firmly in their European context, so that historians of science in general will find much to stimulate them. In the nature of things, most

readers will find the latter half of the book, focusing on Darwinism, more interesting.

Professor Dupree has three points of major interest to make: that by his explanation of the similarity between the floras of eastern North America and Japan as conditioned by the advance and retreat of ice sheets Asa Gray made a fundamental contribution to the bolstering of Darwin's view that like species do not spring up independently in different regions of the earth but fan out from a common source; that the gradual polarization of attitudes between Gray and his great colleague Louis Agassiz may be defined in terms of a confrontation between empirical philosophies of nature, on the one hand, and the last remnants of idealistic *Naturphilosophie* on the other; and that Gray exerted through Chauncey Wright a significant, perhaps a decisive, influence upon pragmatism. The first of these points is well taken; the second is basically sound, but susceptible of some interesting qualifications; and the third, in which Dupree is following up some hints thrown out by Professor Philip Wiener in his *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*, does not appear to have any real foundation.

If it be said, with Dupree, that Agassiz, from having "imbibed" the *Naturphilosophie* of Schelling and Oken in his youth, bore with him to America "the very essence of German idealistic philosophy," it is, nevertheless, of interest to realize that Agassiz thought of himself as being in rebellion against this very tradition. And this was not entirely self-delusion. Oken had conceived of all lower animals as built up out of the organs of man, intellectually dismembered in the mind of God, variously reassembled, and rendered viable. Agassiz, as the disciple of Cuvier, stood for the quite different view that there were four absolutely distinct "branches" of the animal kingdom, built upon the same number of entirely different "plans" and not permitting of any profitable juxtaposition in scientific discourse. Dupree rightly fixes upon this idea of divine plans as partaking of the metaphysical and theological character of Oken's own thought. Yet one can understand how Agassiz could see himself as breaking free from a speculative system that confounded the whole animal kingdom together in defiance of the sharp differentiation of phylla. What is more illuminating, one can see why the Darwinians' generous postulation of "missing links" might appear to him as precisely a reenactment of the follies of *Naturphilosophie*, which also essayed a broader conspectus of the unity of nature than the empirical evidence justified. The conclusion would seem to be that Agassiz and Gray represented successive stages in the overthrow of metaphysical natural history. This need not obscure the fact that the relative opposition between them is correctly defined by Dupree.

The confrontation between Agassiz and Gray would be one of the most reverberatory events in American intellectual history if it could be shown, as Dupree claims, that Gray was "midwife" to pragmatism: "The main line of the history of empiricism in America runs from Gray, who absorbed his partly out of the Paley-laden American air but also imported it directly from Britain, to

Chauncey Wright, to pragmatism." The argument runs that Gray was the embodiment of and in some obscure sense the inspiration for Wright's doctrine of the "neutrality of science," that is, its irrelevance to metaphysical and theological considerations and commitments, so that men of any faith or none could concur in all genuine scientific findings. By this doctrine Wright is alleged to have pushed William James and C. S. Peirce in the direction of pragmatism. Now it may freely be conceded that Gray did believe in the neutrality of science, particularly with reference to evolution. There does not seem to be a shred of evidence, however, that Wright was influenced by Gray in formulating this as a doctrine. Even if it could be demonstrated that the whole idea had come from Gray, this would not prove that it had anything to do with James or Peirce, both of whom seem to have been influenced not by the specific teachings of Wright but by his zest for philosophical discourse. Finally, even if it were possible to show that fundamental doctrines had passed from Wright to Peirce and James and had become an integral part of their thinking, it would be hard to formulate any profitable definition of pragmatism that would turn upon the neutrality of science. Surely it is a safe statement that Gray had no influence whatever upon the course of American philosophy.

None of these comments should be interpreted as questioning the general excellence of Dupree's book, which, as it gathers speed, becomes a vivid evocation of Gray and Agassiz and the scientific issues of their time. There is no better biography of an American scientist.

Harvard University

DONALD FLEMING

JEFFERSON DAVIS: CONFEDERATE PRESIDENT. By *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xvii, 556. \$6.75.)

Hudson Strode embarked eight years ago upon the adventure of seeking "the whole truth about" Jefferson Davis and writing "his life in the light of what I discovered." What started out to be a work in one volume has grown to the dimensions of three volumes, of which *Jefferson Davis: Confederate President* is the second. It opens with President Davis at Montgomery engaged in the business of constructing the machinery of the new Confederate government. It closes with the President's New Year's Day reception in Richmond on January 1, 1864, leaving for a third volume the rest of the war and the long years of Davis' postwar life.

There has been no lack of biographies of Davis (three within the past thirty years), but this new one is warranted by its emphasis upon what the subject "sees, thinks, and feels, while history is occurring." Personal and family papers not previously available have been put to good use to portray the inner feelings of a warm and human personality, rather than the more familiar stereotype of "coldness."

The "stereotyped judgments" of Davis "long accepted by a large part of the



public" had their origin, in the opinion of the author, in "his Southern as well as his Northern foes." Much attention, consequently, is devoted to the struggles that Davis had "with difficult personalities among his compatriots," described by the author as "ambitious politicians and jealous generals." In dealing with this "handful of malcontents," says Strode, Davis was "not in position to defend himself openly" without exposing the Confederacy's glaring lacks and "had to endure in silence heaped-up criticism." Unfavorable impressions not contradicted until long after the event have hardened into beliefs that darkly color the concept of Davis in most minds. The passionate purpose of Strode's work is to bring "all Americans to appreciate the true caliber of Jefferson Davis."

That he was of those available "the one best fitted for the position of President of the Confederacy" is rightly taken for granted. That his "remarkable insight into the problems of strategy" could not always be applied is explained by the fact that he had to be "continually torn between military and political needs," or by absolute necessity, such as the lack of supplies which dictated the defensive policy of the autumn of 1861.

Strode rebuts the accustomed allegation that Davis was "self-willed and uncompromising." Against his own better judgment, he says, the Confederate President yielded to the recommendations of Lee and his cabinet for the invasion of Pennsylvania, and again gave in when he agreed to put Joseph E. Johnston in command of the Army of Tennessee in December 1863, after his own confidence in that officer had been impaired by his failure to fight for the relief of Vicksburg.

The author measurably succeeds in his purpose and adds to the controversial figure of the Confederate President a new and more appealing dimension.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

ROBERT S. HENRY

STONEWALL JACKSON. Volume I, THE LEGEND AND THE MAN TO VALLEY V; Volume II, SEVEN DAYS I TO THE LAST MARCH. By *Lenoir Chambers*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1959. Pp. ix, 597; viii, 536. \$20.00.)

EVERY student of military history knows what Stonewall Jackson did. But why should a man whose first thirty-seven years were characterized by something less than mediocrity in the next two years become one of the world's most brilliant generals? Lenoir Chambers has attempted to answer the question by a painstaking study of every phase of Jackson's life. Out of it emerges a man who was a saint in private life and "the very devil of a fellow" in war, a devout Christian who was as bluntly realistic in warfare as was William T. Sherman.

Orphaned at an early age, Thomas and his sister Laura were shunted about to live with relatives, forced to become self-reliant, and driven to depend almost exclusively on each other for sympathy and understanding. Schooling was scant

for Thomas and his appointment to West Point was something of an accident. Socially and intellectually unprepared, he somehow by almost superhuman effort held on, and, year by year, gained in standing. He lived much to himself, evinced a will of iron and a frightening sense of duty. He wrote in his copy book: "... be always employed at something useful ... avoid trifling conversation. ... Through life let your principal object be the discharge of duty." Already he had begun to worry about his health and to adopt strange dietary fads. The term "queer" fitted him perfectly.

The Mexican War brought out the other Jackson. In battle he accepted orders at face value regardless of the cost, and, when occasion permitted, dared to act on his own. He was hard on his men and showed no mercy for the enemy. "Something about war stirred him to his depths," awakened an inner fire, and "endowed him with new energy." He won fame and promotion.

Garrison life at Fort Meade after the war revealed a streak of stubbornness and ambition. Jackson quarreled with his superior officer, demanded unwarranted authority, and preferred charges which those higher up did not think deserved notice. He resigned in anger to accept a teaching post at the Virginia Military Institute.

Ten years in Lexington rounded out the man. Marriage, the loss of his first wife, and a second marriage released the deep and tender emotional side that had earlier found only partial expression in his relations with Laura. It added an absorbing religious quality. From now on a stern Calvinistic God would reinforce the obligations to duty, to self-discipline, and to the zeal with which all foes were met. Sunday became a day in which even a letter could not be mailed. He slept through most church services but he never missed one. The citizens of Lexington saw a "stiff, plodding, and earnest" man, inefficient as a teacher, but one "who if you ordered him to hold a post" would "never leave it alive to be occupied by the enemy."

When the Civil War broke Jackson never hesitated. It cost him no struggle to leave the Union. Commissioned as a colonel of Virginia volunteers and assigned to Harper's Ferry, he brought order out of confusion and began the creation of a disciplined body of troops that could move fast and stand firm. At First Manassas they won the title of "Stonewall" both for the brigade and for its commander.

From this point Chambers' volumes become a military history of the Civil War in so far as Jackson played a part in it. His descriptions of campaigns and battles are clear, often dramatic, always intelligent. He offers a few more details in places than does G. F. R. Henderson's classic and corrects a few errors. His style is a bit more popular than Frank Vandiver's. His work is notable for completeness and for a point of view. Jackson is excused for his failure in the Seven Days on grounds of illness and fatigue. The impossible physical obstructions that Lee's plans imposed are noted but not stressed. No excuses for the gap left in the line at Fredericksburg are offered and Jackson is not defended for his treatment

of A. P. Hill. If Chambers has left Jackson less an enigma, less a bundle of contradictions, this reviewer has missed the point.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

**MONEY, CLASS, AND PARTY: AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.** By *Robert P. Sharkey*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXVII (1959), Number 2.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1959. Pp. 346, ix. \$5.50.)

MUCH of the energy of the present generation of American historians is devoted to revising and refuting the ideas of Charles A. Beard. The latest contribution to the anti-Beard crusade is *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction*, by Robert P. Sharkey of the Johns Hopkins University. Following lines of thought explored in recent articles by Irwin F. Unger and Stanley Coben, Sharkey reexamines Beard's view of the financial history of Reconstruction and sharply questions the thesis that Republican eastern "capitalists" favored contraction of the currency while Democratic western farmers, along with labor, supported inflation.

Superbly organized, lucidly written, and based upon extensive research in primary sources, *Money, Class, and Party* is an important revisionist work which definitively knocks the props out from under Beard's argument. Sharkey shows that organized labor, with its "general hatred and distrust of banks, bankers, and bank-notes," did in fact favor greenbacks, but that farmers, basking in the prosperity of the 1865-1870 period, "were the least concerned of all economic groups in the general question as to whether the volume of currency should be expanded or contracted." On the other hand, upon Sharkey's close examination, Beard's "conceptual monolith of the interests of 'capitalists'" breaks up, and we are left with "the divergent interests of financial and industrial capitalists, of bankers and manufacturers." Having a "vested interest in deflation," eastern bankers, on the whole, shared "a hatred of the greenbacks, a distrust of the National Banking System, opposition to a high protective tariff, and a desire for a rapid return to specie payments," but western bankers were "largely opposed to McCulloch's efforts to contract the greenback currency." Manufacturers were also divided. The "wealthier and well-established manufacturers of New England supported the policy of contraction," but the iron and steel interests and other manufacturers "of the high protectionist variety," seeing that the gold premium amounted virtually to an increase in the tariff, "tended inevitably toward a soft-money philosophy."

Political parties, Sharkey cogently demonstrates, were no more united on the currency issue than were these economic interests. Up to 1867 the Democrats were the party of hard money; after that, they were bitterly divided. The Republicans were badly split on the issue, too, but so many influential Radicals—Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin Wade, B. F. Butler, Wendell Phillips—favored greenbacks that

Sharkey believes that Radicalism should be "identified with a belief in high protection and soft-money."

Rarely does a first book by a young author raise so many significant questions as Sharkey's, and simply because this careful and admirable monograph is going to require serious rethinking of our entire picture of the Reconstruction period, a few warnings must be suggested about its uncritical acceptance. Excellent as a guide to the 1865-1869 currency struggles, *Money, Class, and Party* makes no attempt to follow the debates through the ten ensuing years before resumption was finally brought about—a period in which the Beard thesis is more nearly tenable. Sharkey's treatment of farmer and labor opinion for his period is thorough, but his analysis of manufacturing interests is not very full (he has not used any manuscript materials except those in the Library of Congress and has done no work in New England sources); he completely neglects the South; and he gives almost no space to the powerful mercantile interests or to the influential reform groups which were keenly interested in the currency. By concentrating upon his few economic pressure groups, Sharkey has missed something of the complexity of the currency struggle, one which involved not merely economic interests but social, intellectual, religious, and political pressures as well. In refuting Beard's interpretation of the currency dispute, Sharkey makes it clear that he does "not dispute the general validity of the concept of the 'Second American Revolution,'" and he argues "that the general economic history of the Civil War and Reconstruction must be approached from the standpoint of the conflicting interests of various economic groups." Such a refined economic interpretation of the period is, to this reviewer, almost as questionable as the simplistic Beardian hypothesis.

Queen's College, Oxford

DAVID DONALD

OCHERKI ISTORII SShA [Historical Survey of the USA (1877-1918)]. By L. I. Zubok. (Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1956. Pp. 590. 10.70 Rubles.)

THIS volume is described by its author, a member of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and a veteran Soviet critic of American history, as a history of the class struggle in the United States from the end of Reconstruction until the end of World War I, with especial attention to mass movements and "to the struggle against exploitation by the ruling bourgeoisie." One of Zubok's colleagues, in a recent review in the Soviet journal *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* (Modern and Recent History), called the book an aid "in the uninterrupted struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideology," and Zubok concentrates on trying to prove that capitalism in America was not exceptional and that it contains all the contradictions that have destroyed it in other parts of the world. The book is basically a crude effort to force Marxist-Leninist categories upon American history.

*Historical Survey of the USA (1877-1918)* is divided into three sections, the first seeking to analyze the changes that occurred between 1877 and 1898, when Zubok declares monopolistic capitalism or imperialism began to rule. The second section attempts to describe the features of American imperialism, which Zubok defines as exclusive rule by monopolies in a time of wide class and social contrasts and of bitter struggle against exploitation. The last section deals with American policy in World War I.

*Ocherki istorii SShA* has the appearances of scholarship, with frequent footnotes, a sixteen-page bibliography of American and foreign sources, a thorough index, and a number of maps and charts. American documents and authors, however, are used only for statistical information, and the volume as a whole is a burlesque of scholarly history. It contains no evidence whatsoever that Professor Bemis and his colleagues "from the camp of reactionary bourgeois scholars" are "falsifiers of history." It is also very narrowly conceived; the author barely mentions American cultural history, and he even fails to utilize data and points of view from American literature which would have strengthened his thesis.

Some items stand out. Zubok treats the United States as a European country; he ignores the muckrakers and most reform movements; he sees "Gompers and his clique" as "agents of the American bourgeoisie in the working class"; he charges that the Spanish-American War launched imperialism; he claims that American leaders in World War I sought world rule and that only the October Revolution saved China, Korea, Mongolia, the Russian Far East, and Siberia "from the imperialistic plans of the American monopolists"; he describes American foreign policy after 1890 in terms of the 1950's and sees it as one of alliance with Japan against China and Russia; and he concentrates heavily upon the oppression of minority groups. Indeed, according to Zubok, conditions were so desperate that the American labor movement was the most radical in the world, next to that of Russia, of course.

One puts down this book with great dismay. Let us hope that the Soviet historical studies sent here in the future for review are of higher quality.

*Indiana University*

ROBERT F. BYRNES

CONSERVATION AND THE GOSPEL OF EFFICIENCY: THE PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT, 1890-1920. By *Samuel P. Hays*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 40.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. 297. \$6.00.)

THIS is a challenging reinterpretation of the conservation movement, based on impressive research, written for the most part tersely and interestingly. Professor Hays is convinced that in order to analyze conservation history and to assess its true meaning the scholar must "permit an entirely new frame of reference to arise from the evidence itself." This evidence, he says, reveals that conservation was

above all a "scientific movement," led by a small group of professional men, whose objective was the orderly, efficient use of resources, under the guidance of experts. He rejects the idea that conservation arose from the political reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or that its essence was a defense of the public interest as against private interests. He virtually divorces scientific conservation (and its leaders) from principles of democracy and justice, except where the "rhetoric" of the subject was employed. The main emphasis of this book, factually speaking, is the campaign for multiple-purpose development of waterways, led by Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and Francis Newlands. About half of the total space, however, is devoted to forestry, range and grazing problems, assorted public land questions, and to the various conflicts over new federal and executive policies. The omissions are many. For example, Franklin K. Lane, influential Secretary of the Interior from 1913 to 1920, is barely mentioned. Leaders of Congress, with a few exceptions, are given slight attention. These gaps and omissions seem important since the book purports to grow out of the evidence.

Hays has given us an "idea," in fact a set of interesting and often perceptive ideas. But he has not provided a clear-cut and convincing substitute for the old view of conservation—if there was ever anything like a single or a simple view. Doubtless he is correct in asserting that scientific planning deserves more emphasis. And historians for some time past have realized the danger of damning all corporations or private interests. In a sense Hays is attacking a straw man and is carried away by his own ideas. The trouble with conservation history is not so much the writing from a wrong viewpoint as it is a failure to write. There is not even a full-fledged biography of Gifford Pinchot. When enough scholars have examined the primary sources and produced their specialized studies we shall better be able to judge the complex motives of the conservationists and the controversies that grew from their efforts.

*University of Illinois*

LEONARD BATES

LA GUARDIA IN CONGRESS. By *Howard Zinn*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1959. Pp. xi, 288. \$5.50.)

LA GUARDIA: A FIGHTER AGAINST HIS TIMES, 1882-1933. By *Arthur Mann*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. c. 1959. Pp. 384. \$6.00.)

THERE is more to compare in these two books than to contrast. They both study primarily the earlier political career of the "Little Flower," leaving off with his defeat for reelection to Congress in 1932. They are both products of indefatigable research, with the *La Guardia* papers as their principal source. They both emphasize the difficulties that immigrant groups, particularly the Italian-Americans, encountered in the process of coming of age politically. They are both written by men who know the city, and are able to keep the urban past in focus



with the still more urban present. They both reveal the extraordinary emotional appeal of the man whose exploits they recount; both authors have fallen for him in a big way, and they carry their readers along with them.

There are a few contrasts. The Mann book is the longer by perhaps a hundred pages and deals more fully with La Guardia's precongressional years. Its author, too, is a little more infected with the La Guardia language and excitement. Some of his passages might almost have come from La Guardia's own lips; for example, "The Babbitts and the bigots among his colleagues [in Congress] hated and baited him: he had the wrong name and the wrong parents, he represented the wrong city and said the wrong things. But his trigger-fast mordant repartee cut down his tormentors." In contrast, the Zinn book is a trifle more restrained and professorish, as becomes a prize-winning AHA product; but it is still sprightly and reads easily. Just possibly, Mann resorts more frequently to the topical system of arrangement, while Zinn is more persistently chronological. Both books are elaborately documented, but Mann puts his footnotes at the back of the book, where they have no business to be, and by so doing adds greatly to the "distracting and wearying" of the interested reader, who is everlastingly asking the question, "Where did he get that?" Zinn has his footnotes at the bottom of the page where they belong, but errs in a different manner. Which one of my graduate instructors once explained to me that footnotes are for references, and not for further comment and amplification, I do not remember, but his advice was good, even if I sometimes failed to follow it. By way of emphasis, he added that anything I had to say that was worth saying should be integrated in the text; if that could not be done, then it was not worth saying. Someone should also have told that to Gibbon. These are lovely books, nevertheless, and the present reviewer (I was also warned never to use the first person in historical discourse) felt deprived when he had finished reading them. Reading one right after the other carried no discount for either; they are both well worth reading again.

Both Mann and Zinn underscore two very important points. The first, already noted, is the struggle of the recent immigrants to erase the stigma of "fifty-per cent Americanism" and to prove that they and their kind are just as much a part of the American nation as if their ancestors had come over on the *Mayflower*. Historians have too long been content to get these more recent arrivals off the boats and into the tenements, and then to leave them there. What happened after that? The Al Smith story tells something, but among the immigrants the Irish were the aristocracy; the La Guardia story tells far more. For a lad whose father was Italian and whose mother was Jewish to fight his way into Congress, the first of his kind to make that hurdle, was not only a personal triumph; it registered a remarkable degree of progress among the people he represented.

The second and even more significant point is the new twist that La Guardia, aided by a few like-minded colleagues, gave the idea of Progressivism. More than any other person he emphasized the necessity of bringing Progressive ideas down

to date. The Populists were all right for their time and place, but their time was the nineteenth century and their place was rural America. The Bull Moose Progressives, while of more recent vintage and definitely on the urban side, had a certain nose-high, do-gooder attitude toward the city masses. La Guardia represented these people and he knew their problems. Far more than La Follette, whose reform views were almost as far out of date as Hoover's economic principles, La Guardia understood the needs of his time. He and a few others, as Zinn points out in his preface, "did not merely complain; they offered remedies, again and again. Congressional archives are filled with their rejected legislation, and La Guardia's name reappears there continually. Most of the later New Deal legislation was anticipated by La Guardia, Norris, Wagner, Costigan, and others both before and after the 1929 crash so that, when Franklin D. Roosevelt took his oath of office, a great deal of initial work had already been done." La Guardia thus emerges as a significant link in the Progressive chain; it was he and his kind who prepared the way for the New Deal.

*University of California, Berkeley*

JOHN D. HICKS

**TOMORROW A NEW WORLD: THE NEW DEAL COMMUNITY PROGRAM.** By *Paul K. Conkin*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1959. Pp. ix, 350. \$6.00.)

THOUGH the New Deal is often accounted an experiment in realistic (not to say cynical) liberalism, it had its utopian moments. The outburst of interest in planned communities during the early eighteen thirties amounted in some respects to a renewal of the utopian dreams of the nineteen thirties and forties. The New Deal's communitarianism proved abortive. Nonetheless the story is well worth telling both in itself and as a reflection of the urgencies and hopes that swept the nation at the bottom of the depression.

Dr. Conkin's account of the New Deal community program is workmanlike, judicious, and comprehensive. He traces the various origins of the homestead idea, revives neglected figures like Elwood Mead and Ralph Borsodi, notes the roles of Bernarr Macfadden and Henry Ford, and shows how the depression brought about a fusion of the "back-to-the-land" and "planning" impulses. He then describes how Senator John Bankhead of Alabama, with White House support, was able to insert a subsistence homestead section into the National Industrial Recovery Act, and how this section flowered into the enthusiasm for community building of the early New Deal. In the end several New Deal agencies were involved, and about one hundred communities of various types were launched. In due course the Resettlement Administration became the residuary legatee of the communitarian undertakings. Conkin ably describes the mounting criticism and the eventual liquidation of the community effort. He concludes with a detailed analysis of several individual communities.

Both bureaucratic error and congressional obstruction were involved in the failure of the communitarian dream, but the real trouble, as Conkin notes, was more fundamental. Communitarianism was basically defeated, he suggests, by "the individualistic nature" of the clients and by the difficulty of "maintaining the major features of this new society in the midst of the old society, which, with returning prosperity, was regaining much of its past popularity." In the main, most New Deal community planning ran too much against the American grain. Conkin might have made a more decided exception for R. G. Tugwell's greenbelt towns. As we begin to recognize a quarter of a century later that community planning may not be an altogether bad idea, we can only regret that the drift to the suburbs has not ended up in more of Tugwell's garden cities and in fewer of our growing suburban slums.

The effectiveness of this admirable monograph is limited only by a certain woodenness of style and a consequent failure always to convey the human dimension of the communitarian experiments.

*Harvard University*

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

COMMAND DECISIONS. Prepared by the Office of the Chief of Military History. With an introduction by *Hanson W. Baldwin*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 481. \$5.95.)

THIS book is unique in military history. Under the editorship of the able and scholarly Dr. Kent R. Greenfield, sixteen historians have written twenty chapters, each of which is devoted to a high-level decision that materially affected the tide of military events through the half decade of 1940-1945. This alone would hardly justify the claim to being unique. But when the editor, as Chief Historian, Department of the Army, has lived with the tons of unpublished raw materials represented by thousands of unclassified, confidential, secret, and top secret documents through an appreciable portion of his professional life, and, in doing so, shaped the creation of the era's most ambitious historical project, and when the writers on each of these major decisions are members, or former members, of his staff of professional historians, the reader has a right to expect something truly different and outstanding. This reviewer was not disappointed.

When such great canvases are painted by sweeping, bold strokes with deliberate inattention to important but lesser details, it is inevitable that some staff officer "who was there" or a war area specialist with access to a significant private collection is likely to come forth and take issue with the handling, or even the selection, of this or that command decision. But such will convince few that they could have done better, if as well. And I fail to note a single decision that could be omitted from the book without injury to the volume as a whole.

Since Greenfield included some German and Japanese major decisions, there

could be some disappointment that one or more vagaries of the French high command were not described. And since the American First Army bore the brunt of the hardest fighting across Europe, a critic could insist that General Courtney Hodges must have made some decision, good or bad, that influenced the war sufficiently for inclusion. It is safe to assume, moreover, that Field Marshal Montgomery will feel sadly slighted when he finds this book but touches his classic, three-cornered tactical and strategic feud with Generals Eisenhower and Bradley with a scant eight-page study of what was logistically possible.

The book's decisions and distribution of assignments are as follows: the defeat of Germany, Louis Morton; Hitler's decision to invade Norway, Earl F. Ziemke; Japan's decision for war, Louis Morton; Roosevelt's decision to evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast, Stetson Conn; the withdrawal from Bataan, Louis Morton; the invasion of North Africa, Leo J. Meyer; aid to the USSR via Persia, Robert W. Coakley; cross-channel versus Mediterranean attack decisions at the Cairo-Teheran Conferences, Richard M. Leighton; MacArthur and the admiralties, John Miller, Jr.; Hitler's decision on the defense of Italy, Ralph S. Mavrogordato; Lucas at Anzio, Martin Blumenson; Clark's decision to drive on Rome, Sidney T. Mathews; the invasion of France from the Mediterranean, Maurice Matloff; Bradley's decision to press pursuit rather than close the Argentan pocket, Martin Blumenson; Eisenhower's "broad front" versus "narrow thrust" decision, Roland G. Ruppenthal; launching the Arnheim paratroop operation, Charles B. MacDonald; Hitler's demand for the 1944 Ardennes (the "bulge") offensive, Charles V. P. von Luttichau; Luzon versus Formosa, Robert Ross Smith; the halt at the Elbe in 1945, Forrest C. Pogue; and the use of the atomic bomb, Louis Morton.

As the above separate studies of twenty command decisions by almost as many authors suggest, this book is not and obviously was never intended to be a continuous study of correlated, high-level staff work. It is not a textbook on warfare, moreover, but it is a volume from which students of armed conflict can learn a vast amount. For example, had the professional-minded and narrow-thinking Brevet Major General Emory Upton, United States Army, been the beneficiary of such a book as this before he wrote his famous *Military Policy of the United States*, he might have had less blind worship for military professionalism and more respect for citizenry both in and out of uniform during war crises.

Since this book shows conclusively that total war is an invitation to major strategic decisions by civilians, the volume is strongly endorsed for compulsory reading by all air force and army officers. Professional historians, college teachers, and graduate students will find it a convenient source of handily concentrated information not readily available, and some even unavailable, elsewhere. The editor and authors are to be congratulated for a most difficult task, extremely well done.

Wisconsin State College, Superior

JIM DAN HILL

STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR COALITION WARFARE, 1943-1944. By Maurice Matloff. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xvii, 640. \$5.00.)

THE present volume conforms to the high standards of scholarship, thoroughness, and objectivity set by its predecessors in the army history of high command in World War II. The author supplements the voluminous material from the War Department archives with the published memoirs, and if at times one has a sense of a story only half told, it is for no lack of industry or perception on the author's part. It is because so much of the essential process—the internal arguments, the word-of-mouth debate, the clash of personalities—inevitably escaped the documentation. The reasoning behind more than one important decision is still “not clear”; but if Mr. Matloff is forced to interpretations that may not be final, they are consistent and judicious.

Because the air force was still nominally a part of the army, while the ground army was itself the dominant strategic element, the book necessarily touches on much in the naval and air planning. It thus provides a broad and illuminating account of the way in which the gigantic Anglo-American coalition enterprise was run—from Casablanca in the first days of 1943, when the tide of defeat was just beginning to turn, to the Octagon (Quebec) Conference in September 1944, when ultimate military victory seemed so well assured that the remaining problems promised to be rather those of “politics” than of war. Not that politics were ever really absent or that military strategy was to be unimportant later on. But this was the period of the predominance of the strictly military factors.

In reexamining the record one is struck less by the power and consistency of Anglo-American strategic planning than by the extent to which it was the creature of events it could not control. The two high commands came to Casablanca with no agreed strategy for victory, and they left it with none. “No real long-range plans for the defeat of the Axis powers emerged.” For the short run, the Americans found themselves diverted from their cherished massed frontal attack on Germany in 1943 to the opportunistic and peripheral strategy of the British. The disgruntled Americans attributed this to the superior thoroughness of the British staff preparations; they were to go to later conferences fortified, in order “to meet the always well-prepared British,” with a tremendous apparatus of staff planning, analyses, and “appreciations” to support their views. The possibility that the British view had prevailed at Casablanca because on the whole it better fitted the realities of the time seems not to have occurred to our people; yet there was to be much in subsequent history to bear this out. It was not really superiority in planning that controlled; it was the changing facts of logistics, relative forces, and the enemy situation.

Again and again it was necessary to make only provisional decisions, leaving

final determination to the course of events. Frequently the mere discussion of issues seemed to substitute for a settlement of them. The war was in fact to end as the Americans had planned in the beginning—with the frontal assault on Germany and with Japan falling in consequence—and to that extent our basic strategy was justified. But the many “diversions” that our people had to accept along the way and that made the final shape of victory so different from that originally envisaged were forced upon us less by the British than by the war itself, and they probably saved us more than one disaster. The impression is confirmed, moreover, that the American concentration on military victory in this period contributed to the later political difficulties. There were those among the War Department planners who could foresee this, as a prophetic memorandum of the summer of 1944 attests. But, as so often happens in the vast processes of modern governmental administration, the existence of shrewd insights within the complex planning machinery is no guarantee of their acceptance.

The book is not only essential as a review and as a corrective for the masses of controversial material now available; it is also valuable as an exposition of the way in which the greatest affairs of the modern superstate must, in practice, be directed.

*Glen Head, New York*

WALTER MILLIS

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM: A HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1945. By *David A. Shannon*. [Communism in American Life Series.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1959. Pp. xiii, 425. \$7.50.)

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SCHOOLS. By *Robert W. Iversen*. [Communism in American Life Series.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 423. \$7.50.)

THE character, activities, and influence of the American Communist party have been the subject of intense controversy in recent years, a controversy that has been exacerbated by the misplaced and harmful nostalgia of some American liberals for the good old days of the Popular Front as well as by the misplaced and harmful opportunism of some American conservatives who attempted to make political capital of the widespread popular anxieties about the Communist threat at home and abroad. The historian seeking to write an accurate account of the operations of the Communist movement in the United States must wend his way carefully through the sentimental and demagogic distortions that surround the subject.

The project on Communism in American Life sponsored by the Fund for the Republic under the general editorship of Clinton Rossiter was undertaken to provide an objective account of the history of the CPUSA and of the penetration and influence of the Communist movement on various segments of American life: labor, education, government, religion, literature, mass media, and so forth.



The studies of David Shannon and Robert Iversen were undertaken as a part of this project.

Shannon's study is a sequel to Theodore Draper's *The Roots of American Communism*, which was the first volume to be published in this series. Draper's study, notable for careful and thorough scholarship, covered the history of the CPUSA from its inception to 1923. Shannon treats the history of the open party from 1944-1945, the period of its greatest strength and influence, to 1958, when its membership, following, and power were at their lowest ebb. Shannon is thoroughly at home with his materials, a fact that derives in part, at least, from his familiarity with the struggles of the American Left gained in writing his excellent history of the Socialist party in the United States.

The period with which Shannon is concerned covers the crucial years of Communist expansion in Europe and Asia, of the Korean War, of internal struggles in the USSR following the death of Stalin, and of the growth of American concern and anxiety about the influence of Communism in the world and in American life. With a sure hand Shannon traces the history of the CPUSA during this critical period. He gives an excellent account of the creation, control, and defeat of the Wallace Progressive party, making clear why the Communists wanted this party, how they controlled it, and why and how they assisted in its destruction. He describes with equal clarity and penetration the defeat and expulsion of Browder, the defeat of the Communists in the American labor movement, the Rosenberg case, the exploitation of anti-Semitism by the Communists for their own ends, and much more. His book is first-rate history; the research is exhaustive, his writing excellent, his interpretation sound and balanced. While close students of the Communist movement might disagree with particular emphases or judgments, the book is required reading, along with Draper's volume, for all those interested in the history of the Communist party in the United States and in recent American political history.

In his *Communism and the Schools*, Iversen undertakes a task that is at once easier and more difficult than Shannon's. It is easier because it is more limited in scope, more difficult because data are less plentiful and more controverted, and because the whole subject is one about which there is greater passion and greater myopia. It falls to Iversen to describe the Communists' capture of Local Five of the American Federation of Teachers in New York, Communist domination of the national AFT from 1935 to 1939, the work of the Rapp-Coudert Committee and of other committees investigating education, the role of Communists in universities, and with the way in which anti-Communist teachers fought against every effort of Communists to extend control or influence over American teachers and American educational institutions. This is difficult ground, and it is unfortunate that Iversen's account is not informed by a more sensitive, and sensitizing, "feel" for his subject, of the sort that marks the work of Draper and Shannon. Iversen has done broad research, however, and his book is certainly the most comprehensive

examination available on the activities and influence of Communism in the schools and colleges.

One of Iversen's most important contributions is that he makes clear that, while there were flesh and blood Communists in some schools and colleges and in the AFT, there were also brilliant and determined anti-Communist liberals like John Dewey, George Counts, and Sidney Hook in the same schools, colleges, and unions who vigorously opposed Communists and Communism when it was very unpopular to do so.

While some of Iversen's emphases and evaluations will be criticized and while the book leaves work still to be done in this field, the volume makes a significant and valuable contribution to a reevaluation of the role and influence of the Communist party in education and of the capacity of teachers to fight back.

*American Political Science Association*

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK

ARTIGAS AND THE EMANCIPATION OF URUGUAY. By *John Street*.  
(New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 406. \$9.50.)

URUGUAY is a small country, but the history of the process through which it achieved sovereign independence is long and complicated. The *Banda Oriental* (later República Oriental del Uruguay) was not only the bone of contention between Spain and Portugal and their successor states in eastern South America, it was also deeply involved in the clash between centralism and federalism in the provinces of the Río de la Plata. A sound historical treatment of these events is no easy task. It calls for the ability to use historical sources replete with national, ideological, partisan, and personal prejudices in a cool and critical spirit. Mr. Street has grappled with this difficult task with very considerable success.

After a preliminary sketch of the colonial history of the *Banda Oriental* and the rivalry of Spain and Portugal for the possession of the territory, the early career of José Gervasio Artigas is presented. The course of the revolution in the Río de la Plata region is next sketched, with emphasis on the three-cornered struggle for possession of Montevideo between Spaniards, the government of Buenos Aires, and Artigas and his *Orientales*, ending with the temporary victory of Artigas in 1815. Proper attention is paid to the federal crisis of 1813 created by Artigas' famous *Instrucciones del año trece* and to the growth of the federal league headed by Artigas to include Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, Corrientes, and briefly even Córdoba. The triumph of the Portuguese invasion of 1816 and Artigas' eventual defeat and voluntary exile in Paraguay are chronicled. The book closes with a much briefer account of events in Uruguayan history after Artigas' elimination from the scene: the province as part of Brazil (Provincia Cisplatina), the uprising of the "Thirty-Three Orientales" against Brazil, the war over the territory between Brazil and Buenos Aires, and the final peace negotiations and compromise settlement creating an independent republic of Uruguay.

Artigas, neglected and maligned by nineteenth-century Argentine historians, has been rehabilitated through the research of Uruguayan scholars in the present century (Eduardo Acevedo, Hector Miranda, and Hugo Barbagelata, to mention some of the most outstanding). The legend of his supposed barbarism and villainy has been swept away and there is some danger that a new legend, attributing a more systematic command of political philosophy to the *caudillo* than he may have had in actuality, and crediting Artigas and his colleagues with a more fully functioning democratic system than they were able to inaugurate in fact, may be in the process of creation. Street is aware of this danger, but on the whole he agrees with Artigas' Uruguayan admirers. For this basic position there is a good case to be made, and even Argentine historians have gone a long way toward accepting it, but it seems that Street is somewhat more sweeping in his condemnation of practically all the Buenos Aires leaders than he needs to be.

The author has used all the available printed sources and refers to the most important secondary materials. He has also made good use of manuscripts in the British Public Record Office, the Archive of the Indies in Seville, and repositories in Argentina and Uruguay. His style is simple and sober. Street is to be congratulated for making available in English a long-needed account of Uruguayan independence.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION. By *Robert E. Scott*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. 333. \$5.75.)

THIS excellent analytic study of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and its status today by a young political scientist says much of importance about that fundamental upheaval. Concentrating especially on matters since 1930 and bringing information through early 1959, Professor Scott provides us with perhaps the clearest view now in print of a contemporary Latin American government and society in action.

The author employs an approach that has clearly proved its merits in examination of other countries with quite different backgrounds and elements than Mexico. He analyzes the decision-making processes and the interaction of interest groups—class, vocational, rural and urban, and the like—that participate directly or indirectly in them. Scott presents rather familiar material in the early chapters: physical and social frameworks, salient traits of the Mexican people, and a useful historical summary of the Revolution. In the remainder of the volume he makes his major contributions: development and workings of the nearly unique Mexican single-party system, opposition to it, presidential nominations and elections, the changed and changing role of the once omnipotent president, and a summary of the inductions, "Democracy in Mexico." Much of his material comes from his own earlier work, notably his unpublished dissertation on federalism in Mexico since

1917; to it he has added a substantial body of information based on field work and wide reading.

Employing a functional analysis of society, the place and weight its segments have, and the ways in which conflicts between them and their incompatible claims are handled and resolved, Scott necessarily presents a great deal of historical information, much of it new. But his main purpose is less to proliferate data than to relate them to each other as dynamic elements in a rather well-developed and rapidly evolving nation. Much of the elaborate and extended exposition of constitutional and other norms such as set forth recently in William P. Tucker's *The Mexican Government Today* (1957) is subordinated here to evaluation.

Several obvious advantages emerge from Scott's careful and sophisticated handling of method and material. He escapes the trap of parochialism and emotional overgeneralization that often mar writings about modern Mexico, even by professional investigators. His well-documented study indicates how anachronistic are many common affirmations that may have been correct about Mexico in 1940 but that now are simplistic when applied to a more complex situation two decades later. His treatment of the changed role of the executive is particularly relevant to this point, as is his discussion of the "official" party. Many can concur in the author's conclusion that "No one who knows Mexico would argue that the country already has attained a working democratic system, or that it is the most democratic country in Latin America today, though one might argue that in the fifty years since the outbreak of the Revolution more has been done to solve the real problems hindering development of such a system than in any of the other republics of the area."

This work, well written and handsomely produced, with appropriate scholarly apparatus, is a solid and significant contribution, mature in plan and execution. Useful to all interested in the past fifty years, it is indispensable for Latin Americanists, especially Mexicanists.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

*Books*

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXV, 1956, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1958. Pp. xxiv, 409.) In canons of selection, methods of citation, and organization of entries, Volume XXV of the *International Bibliography* generally follows the pattern of its predecessors. It is a selective and descriptive bibliography, with its selective nature to be emphasized in view of the limited space at the disposal of its compilers, who nonetheless manage to list 7,066 items. With this volume Japan becomes the thirty-sixth country to join the roster of regular contributors. Given the peculiar advantages of microfilm (facsimile) as a means of documentary publication, and given the fact that the *Bibliography* has always stressed to some extent the listing of the "publication of texts," to employ its own terminology, this reviewer would repeat his earlier suggestion that the board determining selection policy consider admitting edited documents in microfilm. With regard to archival matters, the coverage of the bibliography of archival writings seems to be somewhat uneven: the bibliography in *Der Archivar* is duly listed, but that in the *American Archivist* has been overlooked in this volume, though listed in its predecessors. It is possible that a greater number of individual finding aids to archives and manuscripts might be listed through the device of noting several titles as a composite entry, a practice occasionally employed elsewhere in the volume. The bibliography is an impressive example of cooperative scholarly enterprise.

*Buffalo Historical Society*

LESTER W. SMITH

WHAT IS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY? AND OTHER STUDIES. By *Leo Strauss*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. c. 1959. Pp. 315. \$6.00.) This is a collection of previously published articles, some of them in inaccessible places, such as the lead piece which appeared in Hebrew, others from familiar journals. Almost half of them are reviews, two long ones dealing with Polin's Hobbes study, the other with Von Leyden's edition of Locke's *Essays on the Laws of Nature*. In "What Is Political Philosophy?" the author states once more his now familiar views of political philosophy as contrasted with political theory, political science, history, and general philosophy. The argument is lucid, and since I largely agree with it, I find it convincing, if not particularly novel. "Das Alte Wahre, fass es an." This admonition of Goethe's is also Leo Strauss's conviction. In Chapter ix, entitled "On a Forgotten Kind of Writing," which was first published in the *Chicago Review*, 1954, Strauss argues the case for a canon of interpretation of many political philosophers which stresses their not telling the "whole truth" as they see it, either out of regard for the "opinion" of the community they live in or out of fear of the consequences. Strauss somewhat exaggerates the novelty of this canon of which he claims that "it is a considerable time since they [these propositions] have been dis-

cussed at all," and that "only four or five scholars of my generation did become interested." Anyone familiar with Plato's Seventh Letter (of disputed authenticity) or Kant's Letter to Moses Mendelssohn can hardly be unaware of the need of considering what an author might omit, even if he trusts Kant's assurance that he would never write anything contrary to what he thinks true. It is a subtle distinction that separates omission from commission in such matters. What few scholars have been willing to do is to follow Strauss's extraordinarily extended application of this canon. They are inclined to raise the question, as did Professor Sabine, as to whether such an application is not "an invitation to perverse ingenuity." Strauss himself admits that "this doubt is perfectly justified," but he belittles the objection by remarking that "there is no method which cannot be misunderstood or misused." The chapter is actually largely a rebuttal of Sabine's criticisms of Strauss's application of the canon. The reviewer developed a similar criticism in commenting on Strauss's treatment of natural law in Plato and Aristotle. Strauss, a man of great learning and acute critical faculty, offers perhaps his best in two chapters in "How Farabi Read Plato's Laws" and "Maimonides' Statement on Political Science." These are gems of learned commentary. Another fine piece is the memorial article "Kurt Riezler" which appeared in *Social Research*, as did most of the book reviews, united under the heading "Criticism." They are pointed appraisals of significant works, and a pleasure to read and to ponder.

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY.

Papers 1 to 11. [United States National Museum, Bulletin 218.] (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1959. Pp. v, 201. \$2.50.) It is impossible to do more than indicate the nature of the able but diverse papers presented in this first collection of the Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution. Here are short scholarly studies of the Scholfield wool-carding machines, John Deere's steel plow, the beginnings of cheap steel, the Auburndale Watch Company, the phonograph in Bell's Volta laboratory, the origin of clockwork and the compass, mine pumping in Agricola's time, the natural philosophy of Gilbert, the Conestoga wagons in Braddock's campaign, English patent medicines in America, and Bewick's wood carving. The collection marks an auspicious beginning for the new staff.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

CENTAUR: ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL IDEAS. By Félix Martí-Ibáñez. (New York: MD Publications. 1958. Pp. xvii, 714. \$6.00.) Dr. Martí-Ibáñez has here brought together some sixty-five of his papers, varying in length from little more than a page to forty-five pages in the present text. And these are selections from only the last decade of his writings, most of them published in the *International Record of Medicine* or in *MD Medical Newsmagazine*. A few special addresses, introductions, and one short story are also included. The great majority of the articles relate to medical history, but this history is so broadly conceived as to involve a moving panorama of art, literature, and science over the centuries and throughout the Western world. One would hardly expect any central theme in such a collection, though there is a suggestion of this in the author's conviction that medicine has humanistic and social implications, as well as the strictly scientific. One notes as a matter of emphasis the author's concern with such medical fields as endocrinology and psychiatry, and also his abiding affection for his native Spain. The papers dealing with medieval (Islamic) and early modern Spanish medicine, indeed, are among the most interesting for American readers. The single essay on "American Medicine," on the other hand, raises serious doubts and illustrates certain tendencies in interpretation that appear else-



where in these materials. Martí-Ibáñez possesses remarkable fluency in English, but this lends itself to a style that will at times seem rather florid to English-speaking readers. More serious, it also lends itself to sweeping and dramatic generalizations which, in some cases, may be questioned in terms of the evidence. In the paper mentioned, for example, what are the grounds for saying that American medicine was "optimistic from the beginning"; that it involved "a rejuvenation of ancient races"; that colonial medicine relived in "vertiginous form . . . all the stages that had taken centuries in Europe"; and that colonialism (pioneering) inspired all later medical advances in this country? These may be intriguing hypotheses but they are here presented as facts. How was it, for example, that none of the achievements noted came about in a century and a half of actual colonial experience, but occurred only after direct contact with European medicine had been firmly established? One can share the author's humanistic perspectives, admire the range of his interests, and appreciate the verve and even the lyric quality of some of his writing. But there is not much evidence of critical, historical research in these studies. They express, rather, a personal "philosophy" of medicine.

*American Philosophical Society*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

HISTORY OF THE GEAR-CUTTING MACHINE: A HISTORICAL STUDY IN GEOMETRY AND MACHINES. By *Robert S. Woodbury*. With a foreword by *Abbott Payson Usher*. [Technology Monographs, Historical Series, Number 1.] (Cambridge: Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. c. 1958. Pp. iv, 135. \$3.00.) HISTORY OF THE GRINDING MACHINE: A HISTORICAL STUDY IN TOOLS AND PRECISION PRODUCTION. By *Robert S. Woodbury*. [Technology Monographs, Historical Series, Number 2.] (Cambridge: Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. c. 1959. Pp. 191. \$3.50.) Professor Abbott Payson Usher in a foreword to this study points out that gear-cutting machines, beginning in the early sixteenth century, "were probably associated with some of Leonardo da Vinci's drawings." They developed actively until around 1930 when the primary types had become stabilized. This development in gear-cutting machines was a factor in bringing about the Industrial Revolution, but it has not received the attention given to other tool-making machines. Woodbury's monograph fills this long-neglected gap. Such subjects as the mathematics of gears, clockmakers and instrument makers, production gear-cutting machines, automatic gear-cutting machines, precision gear grinding, and gear measurements are covered in detail. Since all gears essential to the technological developments of our industrial society had to be made on gear-cutting machines, a history of these developments is basic to an understanding of this age of automation. The bibliography and footnote documentation reveal the magnitude of Woodbury's research; it is a most scholarly study. In his second monograph, *History of the Grinding Machine*, the author points out the historical influence of a given tool (the grinding machine) on industrial production. This machine made possible precision production. Work that formerly was impossible is now easy and relatively inexpensive. When it is realized that mass production, upon which most of our industrial economy is based, would be impossible without the precision that goes into the making of interchangeable parts, then the history of the grinding machine is appreciated. "The grinding machine is the most significant addition to production machine tools since Maudslay discovered the idea of the precision machine tool at the end of the 18th century."

*Rollins College*

JOHN W. OLIVER

THE TRANSITS OF VENUS: A STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCIENCE. By *Harry Woolf*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii,

258. \$6.00.) The eighteenth century has been studied and restudied by historians. One of the great interests has been the Age of Reason and the development of science in the post-Newtonian epoch. Woolf's volume will claim a prominent place in this category. The author has produced a first-rate study in intellectual history. As to his theme: "The *Transits of Venus* deals with the eighteenth-century attempt to complete the Newtonian system of the world by determining its actual scalar dimensions. In the fortunate occurrence of the rare transits of Venus, the scientific mind of the Enlightenment believed it had discovered the mechanism for obtaining one of the basic natural constants of physical astronomy, the solar parallax." If the solar parallax could be determined, the size of the solar system could be calculated accurately—a great triumph for astronomy. The story as unfolded here is fascinating to astronomer and historian alike. There is adequate explanation of the principles of astronomy to satisfy the intelligent reader, but at the same time he is not lost in a maze of technicalities which often discourage many from delving into histories of science. The expeditions that were organized to observe the two transits of 1761 and 1769 were the first examples of international cooperation in scientific endeavor, involving governments and scientists alike. Woolf has done a prodigious amount of research in manuscript collections and printed sources to piece together the story. It is fascinating to see scientists communicating with one another in time of warfare. One wanders from a sled trip in Siberia in the attempt to reach Tobolsk before the thaw to long journeys across the waters of the world in order to gain new points of observation. Although the two expeditions were not completely successful in gaining the necessary information to determine the exact size of the solar system, within limits the second transit and the observations made at that time did afford a relatively accurate measurement. One runs across familiar names here: Mason, Dixon, Winthrop, and Franklin. The great names of European science also are here. Woolf does much more than reconstruct the expeditions; he gives careful thought to the reasons why at such a moment in eighteenth-century Europe such cooperation was possible. The volume has excellent illustrations and helpful charts. This, then, is an excellent work.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

THE MILITARY AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME. By Fritz Sternberg. (2d rev. ed.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 359. \$5.75.) Had anyone told Fritz Sternberg, author of *Der Imperialismus* (1926), that in 1959 he would publish the present book, he would have been called a fool, or a sinister deviationist. Every word in the present book contradicts something in the earlier one. The first work was the product of a writer who, it is true, was not a Leninist but who had taken his stand near Rosa Luxemburg, even though far enough from her to avoid being labeled Luxemburgian. Still, his thesis that the introduction of new machinery into the economy of a nation leads to unemployment, falling wages, misery, and depression showed Sternberg to be a follower of the antireformist wing of the Marxian school. We should not hold it against the author that in a greatly changed time he has changed his mind. Nor do we contest the usefulness of seeing current problems treated by a writer of his background. But it seems to me that this new book is dogmatic, though, as all books by Sternberg, brilliantly so. And like most of the author's other publications it is too sweeping. He formulates the thesis that the military revolution that started with the first atomic bomb is unusual since it is taking place in peacetime and is the father of an industrial revolution, whereas military revolutions were formerly the children of socioeconomic developments. This being so, the military revolution must be continued in order to preserve the security of our nation and to wet-nurse the new industrial revolution. The latter is bound to make our entire population,

not just a few isolated capitalists, steadily richer. The author fails to investigate whether the continuation of the arms race he is so fond of is inevitable. The military revolution he describes was not created by an alleged inescapable development but by the fight against the Axis, and it is questionable whether state aid to the production it stimulated must necessarily be continued. Sternberg represents a kind of militarized Keynesianism, not uncommon nowadays, against which Keynes would have protested strongly. He further closes his eyes to the effects of the arms race on the economics and politics of the underdeveloped countries about whose importance for the West he otherwise has so much to say. And he refrains from discussing the question of lobbying for arms contracts, which in the unlimited arms race he advocates would assume grotesque dimensions.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET. By *Christian Cepolecha*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 182. \$2.00.) As most of Ortega's thought was historical, Cepolecha has provided the essentials concerning the gifted Spanish philosopher. This work will appeal more to scholars than to laymen, and the former can be grateful for having so many complicated ideas so well predigested. Chapter 1 is a useful biography of Ortega (1883-1955) in which are described his education and formation as a scholar, the influence cast by other, and especially German, thinkers over him, his role as a teacher and journalist, and his influence in Spanish politics. Other chapters are entitled "Ortega's Concept of History," "The Select Minority and the Mass" (essentially a review of *La rebelión de las masas*), "The Process of Historical Change," and "From Christianity to Rationalism." The work abounds in substantial quotations from Ortega, and Cepolecha never fails to supply the original Spanish text in a footnote. On two points the author criticizes his subject. Ortega's lack of sympathy with "mediocre morality" strikes him as a dangerous frame of mind for any man. He also chides the philosopher for his failure to think certain problems through to the end, evidently meaning that he failed to provide a religious solution to them.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

THE FUTURE AS HISTORY: THE HISTORIC CURRENTS OF OUR TIME AND THE DIRECTION IN WHICH THEY ARE TAKING AMERICA. By *Robert L. Heilbroner*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959, 1960. Pp. 217. \$4.00.) Ever since the Second World War it has been increasingly recognized that the United States has entered upon a new epoch of abundance. F. L. Allen's *The Big Change* began the recognition and J. K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* described and criticized the new society; now Robert Heilbroner suggests the institutional changes that can be expected to follow when a society is able to provide more than an adequate living for the vast majority of its members. His book is more journalistic than historical in content and form. Sometimes the generalizations are vague or the observations trite, and occasionally grand themes are disposed of in a handful of pages. But its analysis of the implications of our economic growth is so stimulating and important that any historian interested in modern society and America's position in the world will find the book compelling and sometimes frightening. Although abundance is the pride of those countries that enjoy it and the goal of those that lack it, Heilbroner succeeds in showing that its virtual achievement in the United States already bids fair to overturn some of our established ways. For example, in a society approaching abundance, he points out, the threat of starvation, the ultimate means of social control under capitalism, is severely weakened. Consequently certain jobs will not be filled

at all unless alternative—that is, less “individualistic”—means of social control are employed. Similarly, in a society of abundance, advertising creates wants, thus liberating business, too, from the traditional controls of the market. His conclusion is that we must “realize that the road to abundance leads subtly but surely into the society of control.” And it is to be expected, he warns us, that in those countries now striving for abundance—the so-called underdeveloped nations—authoritarian regimes will be typical. In short, individualistic democracy, born and nourished in an era of scarcity, comes under severe challenges in a world in hot pursuit of abundance. Heilbroner offers some hope that with determination and rational planning, the problems he envisages may be surmounted. But the sacrifices and intelligence that the challenge of abundance demands from a society are so enormous and the comforts of plenty so beguiling that he is not very optimistic that Americans or any other democratically organized people will be Spartan enough to make them. It is perhaps a measure of the complexity of the problems he so cogently delineates that he offers no solutions.

*Vassar College*

CARL N. DEGLER

## Ancient and Medieval

THE NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY OF JUSTINIAN II (685–695, 705–711 A.D.). By *James D. Breckenridge*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, Number 144.] (New York: American Numismatic Society. 1959. Pp. x, 104, x plates, \$5.00.) Justinianus II ruled the eastern Roman Empire twice, as the title of Breckenridge's monograph indicates. In the decade from 695 to 705 he wandered, disfigured by a slit nose and tongue, from exile at Cherson in the Crimea to the court of the khagan of the Khazars and thence across the Black Sea to the Bulgars. In 705 he led a Bulgar army to the walls of Constantinople and secured the city without a siege. His return to power was marked by a triumph over the intermediate Emperors Leontius and Tiberius Apsimar. Expeditions against the Bulgars and Moslems produced disasters, and the rebellious army put Justinian II and his son Tiberius IV to death in 711. Aside from wars with Slavs and Arabs, efforts (unsuccessful) to induce the pope in Rome to sign the pro-Greek acts of the Quinisexte Council of 692 occupied imperial diplomacy. Against this background, Breckenridge has turned an art historian's eye on the gold coins of Justinianus II, dividing them into four principal types, two for each reign. Significant types are equated with political and theological events in the two periods. For example, the Hellenistic Christ of Type II reappears on solidi of Michael III (842–867), after the Reinstatement of the Images, but the young, Syrian third- or fourth-century Christ of Type III never returns after the iconoclastic controversy. To the detailed iconography of Justinian himself, one might add that R. Delbrueck sought a monumental likeness of the Emperor in the porphyry “Carmagnola” of San Marco, Venice; this imperial head seems to show an early Byzantine emperor with mutilated face, and Justinian was an exception in surviving such treatment by a decade of exile and six further years of imperium.

*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

THE BENEDICTINE IDEA. By *Hubert van Zeller*. (Springfield, Ill.: Templegate. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 237. \$3.95.) This is not a work of original historical scholarship, but it offers a good introduction to the essence and (in spite of a few inaccuracies) to the history of Benedictine monasticism. The book comes to grips with the problem if and how a historical idea, that of St. Benedict, can keep its essence alive through transitions, reforms, and eclipses. The period from the late sixth to the early ninth century is

seen as one of transition, which was to witness the two-phase reform movement of St. Benedict of Aniane and of Cluny. During the transition the Benedictine missionary and educational impulse emerged out of the primarily liturgical and communal ideal of St. Benedict of Nursia and was illustrated by such great figures as St. Boniface. The reform of St. Benedict of Aniane, carried out under the auspices of the Emperor Louis the Pious, meant an emphatic and even overemphatic return to the *Opus Dei*, the liturgical core of Benedictine life, and far transcended its founding father's concern for monastic unity by subjecting all monasteries in the Carolingian Empire not only to the Benedictine rule, but also to the monastic observance of a central reform monastery. As Dom Hubert rightly points out, the great abbots of Cluny repeated Benedict of Aniane's reform in the midst of the post-Carolingian maze of feudal entanglements. It will always remain a memorable spectacle how the monastic freedom granted to one monastery, Cluny, in 910, by one feudal lord, William of Aquitaine, could and did develop into a new order of organizational, economic, and above all spiritual greatness in a vast system of monastic dependencies under the abbot of Cluny. The author has little to say about specific Cluniac reforms and he somewhat oversimplifies matters by defining Pope Gregory VII as the great propagator of the Cluniac spirit in the Church as a whole. He then gives a brief survey of the various "new orders" that developed from the old Benedictine stem between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, such as the Camaldolensians, the Vallombrosians, the Carthusians, and above all the Cistercians. The Benedictines themselves, and especially the Cluniacs after the middle of the twelfth century, entered upon an eclipse which externally became most clearly manifest in the *in commendam* system of late medieval and early modern times, in which non-Benedictines—cardinals and bishops, rulers and great lords—acted as nominal abbots. The last section of the book contains an interesting account of the more recent history of Benedictine monasticism. The Councils of Constance and Trent promoted the development of the modern Benedictine congregations which once more restored and consolidated the monastic idea of St. Benedict. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the congregation of St. Maur also revived Benedictine intellectual culture, especially in the historical disciplines, through such great scholars as Mabillon and Montfaucon. During the far-flung Benedictine restoration of the nineteenth century there appeared a series of exceptional abbots, whom the author briefly describes. Applying Cardinal Newman's criteria in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* to the Benedictine idea, Dom Hubert comes to the conclusion that in spite of historically conditioned modifications, such as the substitution of intellectual and educational occupations for manual work, the idea has not substantially changed. It still stresses the dignity of man in his service to God.

Fordham University

GERHART B. LADNER

ALCUIN AND CHARLEMAGNE: STUDIES IN CAROLINGIAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *Luitpold Wallach*. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Volume XXXII.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 325. \$6.50.) This book on Alcuin and his imperial patron was begun nearly three decades ago, only to be interrupted as were so many other scholarly projects by political conditions in Germany. In 1950 the author returned to his task and the general direction of his studies became apparent in the score or more of articles and reviews that he has incorporated into this volume. Professor Wallach agrees with Kleinclausz, Ganshof, and others that the statesmanship of Alcuin contributed significantly to the success of Charlemagne's imperial rule. The present volume accordingly deals more specifically with Alcuin's political thought and influence than with the purely educational work for which he had been brought to the Frankish court and for which he is best known. As



a political theorist Alcuin was neither original nor systematic, but scattered through his many writings one may find his views on concrete political problems of his day. The most important single repository of such views is the *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, conventionally treated merely as a textbook on rhetoric but here examined as a specimen of the *speculum principis*. Wallach's detailed analysis of the contents of the *Rhetoric* gives substance to his argument that it is more than a liberal arts manual—a *littera exhortatio* for Alcuin's imperial friend not unlike the epistolary admonitions he wrote to other friends and filled with the same aphorisms. What Alcuin advises is a *via regia* in which the king as lawgiver and judge is governed by such Christian principles as Alcuin adduces. Since rhetoric dealt traditionally with "public questions" he is able to utilize his knowledge of Roman and canon law and Frankish procedure. Earlier suggestions that Alcuin on occasion served Charlemagne as secretary Wallach substantiates by identifying Alcuin as author of key documents relating to the famous synod of Frankfurt in 794. He was the author too of the verses inscribed on Hadrian I's tomb at Charlemagne's order, as well as of other epitaphs, including one for himself. Wallach's proofs of Alcuin's connection with the celebrated letter *De litteris colendis* addressed to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda and the dating of the letter at 794–800 enlightens a familiar topic. Alcuin's literary method and his ideas are further elucidated by an analysis of his treatise on virtues and vices and of his letters. Wallach has brought to his task a wide acquaintance with classical and patristic literature, a sound methodology in textual criticism, and an impressive control of those auxiliary disciplines requisite to his task; his proofs are solidly rooted and will be welcomed by scholars.

University of Chicago

JAMES LEA CATE

BISHOP FULBERT AND EDUCATION AT THE SCHOOL OF CHARTRES. By Loren C. MacKinney. [Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, Number 6.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. 1957. Pp. 60.) This brief study gives an excellent reevaluation of the eleventh-century bishop's contributions in the field of education. Nineteenth-century scholars took as literal truth the highly laudatory remarks of contemporaries of Fulbert. Mr. MacKinney reweighs the evidence and concludes judiciously that the actual contributions of the bishop were far less than those claimed for him. The work is admirably documented and reproduces the pertinent Latin texts in the appendix.

Marquette University

CYRIL E. SMITH

GILBERT VON POITIERS UND SEINE PROZESSE IM URTEIL DER ZEITGENOSSEN. By Swithbert Gammersbach. [Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Number 5.] (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1959. Pp. viii, 159. DM 12.) Until recently modern historians have been fascinated by the personality of Peter Abelard, the knight-errant of the twelfth-century schoolmen. In the sober judgment of medieval contemporaries, however, Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers (d. 1154), was probably more highly esteemed. Undoubtedly he possessed one of the profound speculative minds of his century. The contribution of both Abelard and Gilbert was to attack the problem of understanding rationally the contents of theology by analyzing language through the disciplines of grammar and logic. Their common adversary was the mighty Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and the field of battle was the mystery of the Trinity. After the Council of Reims in 1148, Gilbert, unlike Abelard, remained the only dialectician against whom Bernard tried and failed to secure a condemnation. Within the past decade scholars have begun to repair the unfortunate neglect of Gilbert. N. M. Haring has provided the essential critical editions and, along with



M. E. Williams and A. M. Schmidt, has analyzed the bishop's essential theories. The purpose of the present study is to discuss the central issues of Gilbert's trial from the point of view of historical sources. Emphasis is laid on the opinions of the contemporary reporters such as John of Salisbury, Otto of Freising, and Godfrey of Auxerre, and corroboration is drawn from the writings of Gilbert wherever possible. Since neither new texts nor new significant interpretations are presented, the value of Gammersbach's work lies in bringing together in a short and convenient form the current conclusions of Gilbertine scholarship.

*University of Michigan*

JOHN W. BALDWIN

THE LIFE OF CHRISTINA OF MARKYATE: A TWELFTH CENTURY RECLUSE. Edited and translated by C. H. Talbot. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 193. \$5.60.) The text of Christina's life, edited and translated by Dr. Talbot, is found in the appendix to John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae* in Cotton MS Tiberius E 1. While using that manuscript for his edition of *Nova Legenda Angliae* (1901), Carl Horstman found the appendix too badly burned to be decipherable; accordingly he reprinted the English summary made by Roscarrock before the Cottonian fire. Through the use of ultraviolet ray photography, Talbot has recovered nearly all of the text. The anonymous author of Christina's biography was a monk of St. Albans who wrote during Christina's lifetime (ca. 1096-ca. 1156) from information supplied by Christina herself. His work was copied in the fourteenth century and can now be identified as a source for Walsingham's *Gesta Abbatum*. This candid, often starkly realistic biography portrays the trials, visions, and clairvoyance of a highborn, sensitive woman who was determined to maintain her vow of virginity. From seduction by Ralph Flambard, the notorious bishop of Durham, Christina escaped by stratagem. Harassed into marriage by her parents, she thrice eluded her husband's advances by subterfuge. The protector, provided by Archbishop Thurstan, immodestly molested her. Temptations of the flesh run through the biography as an obsession that might concern the modern psychiatrist or novelist. But Christina fled, eventually to the saintly Roger's hermitage at Markyate. On the latter's death, she succeeded to that hermitage. As her virtuous renown spread, other maidens grouped around her. Although this biography ends abruptly in 1142, other sources tell us that Christina became the first prioress of Markyate in 1145 and sent gifts to the pope a decade later. From a broader point of view, the biography suggests that not a few persons bearing Anglo-Saxon names became hermits in the Norman period; it illustrates again the unsavory character of Ralph Flambard; it charges the somewhat controversial Bishop Bloet of Lincoln with bribery; it demonstrates the influence of the abbey of St. Albans; and especially it mellows the personality of Abbot Geoffrey, the scholarly administrator of St. Albans, who came to depend heavily upon Christina for consolation and advice. Although Walsingham and Roscarrock extracted its gist and substance, this first edition of the nearly complete text is welcomed as a more definitive source for a twelfth-century recluse.

*Hamilton College*

EDGAR B. GRAVES

SAECULUM HUMANUM: ANSÄTZE ZU EINEM VERSUCH ÜBER SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHES GESCHICHTSDENKEN. By Hanno Helbling. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Volume XI.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1958. Pp. 173. L. 1,500.) Dr. Helbling examines the complex theme of men's speculation about their own time and its place in history and their understanding of the nature of history, from approximately 1200 to 1350. He is particularly concerned with the speculation that characterized

the transition from preoccupation with a rapidly approaching end of the world to the expectation of a happier future on earth. Recapitulating Joachim of Flora's doctrine of the three ages of history, he develops the thesis that Joachim's concept of a third age made it possible for men to expect in the near future a new and felicitous phase of earthly existence. Helbling then shows how such a view of history was furthered by the ontological doctrines of some Italian and German mystics, especially Master Eckhart. During the first half of the fourteenth century even political polemic displayed this new attitude toward history. There then arose a *Wiederholungsgedanke*, a belief that unhappy human society would soon return to the fortunate conditions of a golden age of antiquity. The author explores in detail Dante's historical conceptions, emphasizing those elements of imperialist ideology that separate Dante from later political thought. Cola di Rienzo appears as a key figure in the development of a *Wiederholungsgedanke*. In his Roman imperial ideology he is linked with Dante, and through his participation in a literary revival he joins Petrarch. Helbling further illustrates his contentions by publishing an interesting letter written by Niccolo de Beccariis to Charles IV in 1377. *Saeculum Humanum*, written from an excellent knowledge of pertinent source material and current scholarship, is marred only by a difficult and contrived style. It could be improved by a more informative index or table of contents. This provocative study of late medieval conceptions should be read by specialists in Renaissance humanism and in medieval intellectual history.

University of Nebraska

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

VECCHIO E NUOVO NELLE IDEE POLITICHE DI PIETRO DUBOIS. By Mario delle Piane. [Università di Siena, Facoltà di Giurisprudenza, Collana di Studi "Pietro Rossi," New Series, Volume I.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier Editore. 1959. Pp. 151. L. 1,800.) Few thinkers have suffered so much at the hands of their scholarly admirers as has the medieval political theorist Pierre Dubois. Numerous perplexing essays have depicted this Norman lawyer as the precursor of historical types as varied as Richelieu, Robespierre, and Lassalle, while others have claimed that he was nothing more than a "purblind and parchment bound legalist" of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries whose dreams of French hegemony over the *respublica christiana*, at the expense of the papacy, had their roots in a distant past. Without claiming too much or too little for his subject, or resorting to the overly ingenious techniques of the surrealist historians of ideas, the author cautiously expands upon his earlier treatment of the unsystematic, often contradictory, frequently utopian, and occasionally Machiavellian doctrines of Dubois. This study then both duplicates and complements those already published by the author in the *Studi Senesi* from 1952 to 1954. The excellent introductory bibliographical essay which carefully treats the vast literature on Dubois is followed by a judicious and incisive description of his writings. The author emphasizes their doctrinal rather than their philosophical character and shows that Dubois' political theories have an importance for the history of ideas—or better still for the history of opinions. He then places Dubois' teachings in the context of the struggle between the church of Boniface VIII and the state of Philip the Fair in the early fourteenth century. In so doing he follows Hellmut Kämpf's admonition that the scholar must relate Dubois' thought to the religious spirit of his age; yet the author does not neglect the nexus between Dubois' teachings and the structural realities of medieval politics. He sees the French advocate as being sensitive to the formation of particular kingdoms and city-states while, at the same time, affirming with deep conviction the organic unity of Christian society. The persuasiveness of this interpretation offsets the author's tendency to be repetitious and to rely extensively upon

historical abstractions such as "the crisis of medieval universalism," and the fourteenth century as an "Age of Transition."

*Western Reserve University*

MARVIN B. BECKER

DER WIENER HUMANIST JOHANNES CUSPINIAN: GELEHRTER UND DIPLOMAT ZUR ZEIT KAISER MAXIMILIANS I. By *Hans Ankwicz-Kleehoven*. (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1959. Pp. xi, 344. DM 24.80.) This work culminates the author's lifelong preoccupation with Cuspinian (1473-1529). It began with his doctoral dissertation in 1906. Subsequently he brought out critical editions of Cuspinian's *Tagebuch* (1909), *Briefwechsel* (1933), *Documenta Cuspiniana* (1957), and wrote over a score of studies for learned journals, which (together with the present work) illuminate Eastern European humanism in general and Cuspinian in particular. An eastern Frank, Cuspinian wanders to Leipzig and Vienna for his university education. His success as a poet and orator brings him to the notice of the right people, the humanists and the new Emperor Maximilian who crowns him poet laureate in 1493. He is among the welcomers of Celtis to Vienna (1497) and is prominent in the Danubian Literary Sodality. He also gets a doctorate in medicine. By 1501 he is launched on his diplomatic career to which he brings distinction by his talent for oratory, his laureate of poetry, his proficiency as Latinist and Hellenist. The last brings him in touch with intellectuals wherever he goes—a Renaissance James Bryce. Frequent missions to Buda make him a diligent frequenter of the celebrated library of Matthias Corvinus (there is a fine chapter on this library). To historians Cuspinian is best known by his historical works, for example, *Austria . . .* and *The Caesars and Emperors . . .* (ancient history, but more fully on the German and especially the Hapsburg, and, besides, the Byzantine). Cuspinian is little more than a name in Fueter, and generally belittled as a glorifier of Hapsburgs. Our author sets the record straight. A look at the *Tagebuch* alone is rewarding; for example, it gives behind-the-scenes information on the winning of electors for Charles V in 1519. It is interesting to be reminded that many Protestants accepted Cuspinian as one of them because of his Erasmuslike criticisms of clerical abuses; even Melancthon seems to have done so. Students of the Renaissance will welcome this further acquaintance with one of the most diligent of manuscript hunters of the early sixteenth century.

*University of Oregon*

QUIRINUS BREEN

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MEDICINE. By *Benjamin Lee Gordon*. (New York: Philosophical Library. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 843. \$10.00.) This is a somewhat amateurish and ill-balanced survey based, according to its bibliography, upon a rather curious hodgepodge of works, many of them textbooks superior in quality to the present book and others of too trivial a nature to be the proper foundation of a serious study. Although the title informs us that the work is concerned with medieval and Renaissance medicine, about two-thirds of it is concerned with the earlier and less important period including, incidentally, a considerable section on medieval Moslem and Jewish medicine. The author has attempted to compose an encyclopedic book, and by that same token has been prevented from emphasizing currents of influence, growth, and decay. The lack of continuity, if nothing more, is further reinforced by the rather disconnected subdivisions of the all too numerous and brief chapters, and certainly chronological continuity is not assisted by the inclusion, for example, of fifteenth-century physicians in chapters presumably dealing with the Middle Ages. This chronological confusion is especially apparent in the case of the illustrations which are so small as to be useless, and the reader may justly be puzzled upon finding portraits of Jean Astruc and Jerome Cardan cheek by jowl with early medieval figures in a chapter dealing with

Moslem medicine, and Paracelsus and Leeuwenhoek located in that section of the book which considers patristic medicine. How a portrait of Leeuwenhoek came to be included at all constitutes a further puzzle. The author appears to be more at home in the field of medieval than in Renaissance medicine, although even here there are numerous errors of fact. He refers, for example, to the "University of Salerno." The section of the book concerned with Renaissance medicine is often in error; one may wonder how some of the errors were achieved since in certain instances they surpass even the more dubious authorities employed. To mention but two instances: the author is badly confused about the sixteenth-century bloodletting controversy and he has added events to the life of Servetus about which that unfortunate person was unaware. Proper names are frequently misspelled or given odd and unusual forms. The book is certainly of no value to the scholar and could frequently mislead the uninformed.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

C. D. O'MALLEY

THE OCCUPATION OF CHIOS BY THE GENOESE AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLAND, 1346-1566: DESCRIBED IN CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS AND OFFICIAL DISPATCHES. Volume I, TEXT; Volume II, CODEX AND DOCUMENTS; Volume III, NOTARIAL DEEDS. By *Philip P. Argenti*. With a preface by *Sir Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xxiii, 713; xvii, 475; 480-981. \$50.00 the set.) Dr. Philip P. Argenti is well known as the author or editor of more than a dozen valuable books relating to the history of his native Chios from the era of the crusades down to our own time. The product of remarkable industry and ability, the present work is the most extensive and probably the most valuable of them all. In June 1346 the Genoese Admiral Simone Vignoso occupied Chios and in the following September took over the nearby mainland ports of Old and New Phocaea. Only Chios produced mastic (well over two hundred cases a year were sold), a whitish gum used in drugs and ointments (and chewed by the native Chians like chicle). The Phocaeas were the location of some of the chief alum mines of the later Middle Ages. Genoa derived much wealth from mastic and alum. In February 1347 the Genoese government leased to the chief participants of Vignoso's triumphant expedition, now organized as shareholders in a *mahona* or chartered company, general proprietary rights over both Chios and the Phocaeas, reserving for itself ultimate sovereignty over the island and the administration of justice, retaining control of the towns and fortifications, and assuming some of the responsibility for defense against aggressors. The lease of the *mahonesi* guaranteed them all the revenues and profits of the island until the home government could reimburse them for the expenses of the expedition of 1346, but this the government could never afford to do, and when the Turks finally annexed Chios to the Ottoman Empire in 1566, after 220 years of continuous Genoese occupation, the *mahona*, the first great European company of merchant adventurers, almost a model for the East India Company, came to an end. Argenti's first volume is a history of the *mahona* of Chios and its tangled relations with Genoa. His second and third volumes are devoted entirely to documents. The chief texts are the eight conventions (leases) between Genoa and the *mahona* from 1347 to 1513, together with numerous other decrees and ordinances, constituting the public law of Chios, gathered together in a cartulary called the Codex Berianus Chiensis (a manuscript purchased in 1935 by the Biblioteca Civica Berio in Genoa, and fortunately saved when the library was burned in the bombardment of November 1942). Besides this cartulary, Argenti publishes various papal, ducal, and other documents of general political or economic importance and Volume III is made up entirely of notarial deeds illustrating various aspects of the public and private lives of both the Greek and Latin inhabitants of the island—taxes, trade, industry, agriculture, buildings, ships, rents, wills.

weights and measures, slaves, marriages, and transfers of property as well as the relations of Greeks and Latins, the topography of Chios, and all manner of political, ecclesiastical, and military affairs. This work is not without some historical and typographical errors. The survey of Genoese history to 1346 does not rise much above the level of a college textbook. Two papal documents are quite misdated (II, 430, 436), and one analysis of the shares in the *mahona*, *carati grossi* and *piccoli* is wrong (I, 583). There is also more than one odd passage in the Latin documents, which may or may not be attributable to error. The historical account is rather repetitious, but the importance of the work rises above picayune criticism, and the reviewer congratulates the author with a sincere expression of his admiration.

University of Pennsylvania

KENNETH M. SETTON

## Modern

### BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *Geoffrey Marshall* and *Graeme C. Moodie*. (London: Hutchinson. 1959. Pp. 199, 211.) "The amount of time that people are willing to waste in hearing each other talk is a very important constituent of our political life." This sentence, spoken by Sir Oliver Franks in 1957 at a meeting of a Committee on Administrative Tribunals and Inquiries of which he was chairman, taken out of context and left unexplained, is inscribed on a separate page of this volume, following the title page. One wonders, or at least one reader wonders, whether Messrs. Marshall and Moodie, in giving these words this prominence, had a serious scholarly purpose in mind or were merely venting a little academic playfulness. Throughout their book, at any rate, they give plentiful evidence of serious scholarly purpose. Regarding ministerial responsibility as the central principle of the contemporary British constitution, they explore, carefully and critically, uncertainties that have existed as to its precise extent and application. Perhaps their weightiest chapter is that entitled "The Debate on Ministers' Powers since Dicey," in which meticulous attention is given, *inter alia*, to the report of the Franks Committee and the consequential Tribunals and Inquiries Act, 1958. The book may be too advanced to make much of an appeal to those to whom it seems, judging from the preface, to be addressed—"the general reader" and "undergraduates beginning the study of British government"—but it takes its place as a substantial contribution to the growing literature on British constitutional problems that have been coming to the front in the present century.

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

STUDIES IN ELIZABETHAN FOREIGN TRADE. By *T. S. Willan*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 349. \$7.00.) Thanks in no small part to the recent work of Dr. Willan, an increasingly detailed knowledge of the structure and operations of English overseas trade in the sixteenth century is becoming available. Among the five articles in this latest volume the longest relates the origins, structure, and career of English trade with Morocco. Though the traffic in arms or English cloth largely in return for sugar never bulked very large in the total volume of English foreign trade, the Moroccan trade well illustrates the complications involved in a pioneering effort to invade a Portuguese preserve where despotic rulers and primitive conditions lent considerable risk if not real peril to the venture. The trade began formally in 1551, but until 1585 the merchants resisted all pressure to organize or regulate it. The regulated company of that year, organized in large part to secure the earl of Leicester's contract to supply the king of Barbary with war materials remained rudimentary in organiza-



tion, closely subject to the earl's control, and apparently so little necessary to the operation of the trade that it expired with the end of its charter in 1597. Despite this failure to evolve along the company lines which were becoming so common in the north, the Moroccan trade did develop its own kind of unity, based on the existence of a staple import, sugar, on the fact that over the years a remarkably large and representative group of London merchants moved in and out of the trade, and finally on its own unity of organization of merchants operating either individually or in partnership, dealing through resident factors and the local Jewish middlemen, and seeking the cooperation of the hard-pressed king who controlled the staple export. Two shorter essays explore two central elements in the "physiology of English foreign trade," in the author's happy phrase. The role of the factor or agent well deserves Willan's careful gleaning, for the factor gave both flexibility and complexity to the actual operation. And likewise the growth of interlopers and the use of the staple showed the characteristic contemporary attitude toward freedom of trade. Even though the tendency to organize commerce by regional companies was on the increase, there were always those who apparently chose to operate on the outside, while both members and nonmembers alike balked at the restrictive effect of the old idea of a company staple. Another essay, on the foreign trade of the provincial ports, surveys what was always to be an endless source of interloping and shows the degree to which the bulky exports of the hinterland—coal in the north, grain in the east, and cloth in the south and west—were enough to prevent all the blood of trade to drain off to London. The final essay on sugar and the Elizabethans shows the latter moving behind Antwerp to Morocco and Brazil to seek out directly this precious commodity and gradually to transform it from a luxury into a staple. To anyone interested in the fine anatomy of English foreign trade this is an important book. The author's eye for relevant evidence ranges competently and widely, from etymology to the forbidding mass of legal records, with a continuing and admirable attention to the individuals who made it all work. The minute the historian begins to talk of foreign trade, it assumes a monolithic structure and organization that contradicts the actual variety, flexibility, and regional adaptability of which these essays are an impressive reminder.

Smith College

T. C. MENDENHALL

**SURVEYOR OF THE SEA: THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER.** By *Bern Anderson*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. c. 1960. Pp. xii, 274. \$6.75.) George Vancouver's magnificent achievements in surveying the Pacific Northwest coast in one of the longest exploration voyages in history and his diplomatic triumph in the cession to England of the kingdom of Hawaii have been given well-merited recognition in Rear Admiral Bern Anderson's *Surveyor of the Sea*. This compact biography is well written, judicious in tone, and meticulously careful in detail. It is presented in a well-printed and adequately indexed volume. In this tribute to an industrious, highly competent, and scientific naval officer of the late eighteenth century, Anderson draws extensively on his own professional experience as an officer in the United States Navy and a hydrographic surveyor in Pacific Northwest waters. He has made a commendably thorough search of the available documents and has created for the reader the image of a very remarkable man. One is impressed by Vancouver's success in command of a two-ship squadron which traversed 65,000 miles and explored, in addition, ten thousand miles of coastline in oar-propelled boats. Only six men were lost, an evidence of Vancouver's leadership, for the casualty rate was less than one-third that of the Royal Navy. The heroism of these men who endured the normal discomforts of seafaring as well as the dangers of navigating through unknown waters, frequently exposed to hostile natives, and subject to the perils of monotony, draws praise from the



author. Far more than a recounting of the epic voyage is found in this volume. The delicate negotiations over the title to Nootka Sound, which Vancouver handled with skill and no guidance from the British Foreign Office, are traced carefully and impartially. The account of the islands of Hawaii, the relations between Vancouver and King Kamehameha I, and the diplomatic triumph in establishing a quasi protectorate over Hawaii is an interesting and valuable contribution to modern historical literature. There are numerous maps and pictures taken from Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World*. A single large modern map showing Vancouver's explorations would be a valuable addition. Had the bibliography been annotated, it would have been more useful. Although historically significant, the careful detailing of every boat trip may prove monotonous to the general reader. Overshadowed by the events in Europe from 1791 to 1795, the accomplishments of George Vancouver long have merited the excellent recognition given in this volume by a seaman who writes sincerely and simply, but with effectiveness and vigor.

*United States Merchant Marine Academy*

LANE C. KENDALL

THE POLITICAL REASON OF EDMUND BURKE. By *Francis P. Canavan, S.J.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Lilly Endowment Research Program in Christianity and Politics. 1960. Pp. xvi, 222. \$5.00.) Highlighted by Carl Cone's superb study *Burke and the Nature of Politics*, Edmund Burke's political thought has been recently subjected to a searching reinterpretation. Here is additional material for this current reevaluation. Commentators on Burke have long depicted him not only as a foe of doctrinaire rationalism but as one who replaced reason with passion, imagination, and tradition. More recently such Burkean students as Charles Parkin and Peter J. Stanlis have held that Burke's political philosophy was not radically antirational but rather that it derived from what has been called the intellectualist metaphysic of the classical and medieval tradition. Father Canavan strongly throws in his lot with the latter interpretation, but feels that there is room for further clarification of Burke's meaning under the rubric of this tradition, and this is the task he sets for himself. In the first section of this two-part study, the burden of the argument is that the central idea in Burke's thought was that of an order that was "neither wholly natural nor wholly conventional." Rather it was "a joint product of God and man, in which the order of society, derived from and reflecting the divinely-ordained order of the universe, was produced, maintained, and improved by the constant exercise of man's political reason." The remainder of the text is a closer examination of the work achieved by political reason. Here are developed Burke's views, as interpreted by Canavan, on the social order, legitimacy as the title to authority, the political order, and the process of social change. Instances of how Burke's theory of reason shaped his political thought may be found here in their most salient form—the great principles of prejudice, prescription, and conservative reform. Based on the Sheffield and Delapré Abbey (formerly Lampport Hall) collections of unpublished Burke materials and upon an adequate sampling of published works, this is at once a challenging and substantial contribution to the swelling ranks of Burkean studies. An appendix contains a first-rate analysis of Burke's study of philosophy as a Trinity undergraduate, quite probably the first such analysis to be made. Although a relatively short book, this study is closely reasoned and demands the reader's undivided attention at all times.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

BRITISH CONSERVATISM, 1832-1914. By *R. B. McDowell*. (London: Faber and Faber. 1959. Pp. 191. 21s.) Dr. R. B. McDowell, a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, has a much more limited aim in this study than might be presumed from the title. He does

not give a history of the Conservative party, nor does he discover and analyze any coherent body of Conservative doctrine. He attempts only to show what political opinions an English Conservative might be committed to support from the first Reform Bill to World War I. Within these self-imposed limits McDowell performs a useful service to historians. He has digested articles in periodicals, speeches in Parliament, and contemporary books. He has read widely in political biographies and has dipped into hitherto little-used manuscript collections. In the allocation of space he does less than justice to Peel and his friends, who made Conservatism, but he gives appropriate recognition to a number of secondary party personalities such as Henry Drummond, A. J. Beresford-Hope, and George Wyndham. So brief a study covering so long a period should not be expected to produce anything significantly new for the understanding of Conservatism, and it does not. It does provide a compact, objective, and clear exposition of Conservative views on party issues between 1832 and 1914.

*Mills College*

FRANCIS H. HERRICK

THE LIFE AND WORK OF EDMUND BISHOP. By *Nigel Abercrombie*. With a foreword by *David Knowles*. (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xv, 539. 70s.) Outside the field of liturgical studies Edmund Bishop (1846-1917) is little known. In the history of the Western liturgy, however, he is a commanding figure. His cold, spare, scholarly life does not lend itself either to emulation or the writing of interesting biography. He was a scholar's scholar: patient, exact, critical, and self-denying. His life was haunted by the poverty with which he purchased his leisure, and in spite of an international reputation his connections and views remained provincial and Anglo-Saxon rather than Roman. Nor did he possess an easy and a graceful personality, but carried his bleak and persistent Puritanism into the Church at his conversion. As if this were not enough to banish readability his biographer has chosen the style of the eighteenth-century Benedictine savants as his model and has smothered his subject in a cloud of petty exactitude and scholarly punctilio which only Edmund Bishop could fully appreciate. However admirable the exactitude and the research that the biographer displays, there seems to be no movement of mind but rather a formless and gangling still life. And yet, in spite of it all, Bishop claims a place of importance in nineteenth-century religious and scholarly life. Seventeen pages of bibliography indicate the massive nature of Bishop's contribution to history. But this does not tell the whole story, for Bishop was a most important influence on the work of Cardinal Gasquet and although he deplored the slack scholarly standards of his friend he assisted Gasquet in almost every major work he undertook. Even in the rejection of the validity of Anglican Orders by Leo XIII he seems to have played a major role. The history of the liturgy was not an end in itself for Bishop. Taking his cue from Lord Acton and the German school he saw that in the nineteenth century historical scholarship rather than theology was the first and last defense of the Church. Pius IX and St. Pius X held other ideas and sought to conform the mind of the Church to the theology of the Scholastics rather than the scholarship of the Germans. The bent of Bishop's mind was liberal and his sympathies were modernist. The tragedy of the modernist movement embittered and soured him. And yet, strangely, he has the last word. If the nineteenth century belonged to the Jesuits he so stoutly loathed, the future belonged to the Benedictine-sponsored liturgical movement he did so much to create.

*University of Michigan*

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

PERSIA AND THE DEFENCE OF INDIA, 1884-1892: A STUDY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE THIRD MARQUIS OF SALISBURY. By *Rose Louise Greaves*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 7.] (London: University of

London; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1959. Pp. xii, 301. \$6.75.) The nineteenth-century rivalry between England and Russia, in its various phases in the several countries of Central Asia, has long interested historical scholars and has been the subject of Ph.D. theses almost without number. This rivalry, moreover, has become a classic of diplomatic history, comparable only to that of the pre-World War I alliance structure. The printed sources have been well examined and, in more recent years, archival and manuscript materials have been studied as these have become available. Monographs based on both English and Russian sources have been the most significant as, obviously, they were able to present a more complete account. Rose Louise Greaves's *Persia and the Defence of India, 1884-1892*, is an expanded doctoral thesis written in 1954 at the University of London. Though based entirely on British sources, it is a valuable and convenient survey of an important phase of the rivalry and of the old diplomacy in action. Throughout most of the nineteenth century Anglo-Russian relations in Persia and Afghanistan determined a large part of British foreign policy. England feared that Russia would use her expanding position in Central Asia to mount an attack upon India. To prevent such a development England inaugurated the "buffer state policy" in both Persia and Afghanistan. Later, especially in 1878 at the time of the Berlin Congress, Russia found it expedient to take action that increased such fears. Though the sources indicate that no invasion of India was actually contemplated, Russia saw the advantage that might relieve British pressure, or modify British demands, in the area of Constantinople and the Straits. In any event the "Central Asian Question" or the "Great Game in Central Asia" did have a profound effect on the foreign affairs of both England and Russia, although little consideration was paid to either Persian or Afghan wishes. Dr. Greaves handles all this extremely well. She has made good use of the available sources both in presenting diplomatic negotiations and frontiers and in evaluating geographic situations and resources.

University of Colorado

JAMES G. ALLEN

THIS LITTLE BAND OF PROPHETS: THE BRITISH FABIANS. By *Anne Fremantle*. [Mentor Book.] (New York: New American Library. 1960. Pp. 320. 75 cents.) The Labour government of 1945 had a Prime Minister, forty-one members of the ministry, and 229 out of 394 parliamentary supporters who were Fabians; it proceeded to enact a program that was largely Fabian in origin. This small society, which in its period of greatest influence seldom numbered fifteen hundred members and never more than four thousand, successfully adapted socialism to Britain, so that neither German Marxism nor Russian Communism has been able to secure a real foothold. After three quarters of a century it is still active. The *New Fabian Essays* (1952) contributed to the modernization of the Labour party program. The Fabian Colonial Bureau has furthered the evolution of the Commonwealth. The London School of Economics has provided trained experts for the civil service and the *New Statesman* is a widely read journal of opinion. Such is the substance of this book written by a niece of Beatrice Webb. She has made use of published diaries and other Fabian writings, but she leans heavily upon older works on socialism and the Fabians, such as those of Edward Pease, Max Beer, and the Coles and on the general histories of R. Ensor, E. Halévy, and C. L. Mowat. The book is properly titled; it is about people as much as it is about policy and programs. The author appears anxious to give us the "low-down" on the Fabians who stand revealed with all their human faults and moral blemishes. Some like the Webbs and Graham Wallas, though not flattered, come out well, but others like Hubert Bland, Dr. Aveling, and H. G. Wells, here characterized as a "small vulgar dynamo," have their personal history exposed in considerable detail. There is some attention to

other organizations that furthered the labor movement and the Labour party, but not enough to compare respective contributions. The party was not a distinctly Fabian creation; while H. H. Champion and Keir Hardie sought an independent party, the Webbs were still cultivating Liberal and Conservative politicians as their instruments. There are some signs of carelessness, for instance, figures are given for four election returns and all are incorrect. Appendixes contain the society's constitution, rules, and a list of members' publications, together with some brief biographical notes.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

TRIUMPH IN THE WEST: A HISTORY OF THE WAR YEARS BASED ON THE DIARIES OF FIELD-MARSHALL LORD ALAN BROOKE, CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL GENERAL STAFF. By *Arthur Bryant*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1959. Pp. xviii, 438. \$6.95.) For students and teachers of history this volume, like its predecessor, *The Turn of the Tide* (1957), has its principal importance in exposing liberal quotations from the daily and confidential diary of the chief of the Imperial General Staff on the development of British strategy in World War II. These are imbedded in a historical narrative by Sir Arthur Bryant. Sir Arthur, in his "Prelude," disclaims having written "a history of the war." Yet that is what his narrative is. He assumes the authority of the historian by making again and again categorical affirmations regarding the wisdom or unwisdom of the strategic decisions of the Allies and the qualifications of those who made them. But the reader will find in his text no basis for these conclusions except Sir Arthur's conviction that Brooke, whom he justly admires, was always right. And he makes no effort whatever to explain views at variance with Brooke's. Fortunately the reader who wants a balanced history of British strategy in this period can turn to John Ehrman's two volumes on *Grand Strategy*. Brooke was as sure as Sir Arthur is that his own was the only correct strategy. In his diary he is often in almost desperate anxiety as to how he is going to manage the Americans and Mr. Churchill. He found Eisenhower and Marshall "charming," and wrote of the latter: "I have never met a straighter or more reliable man in my life." But he had no respect for Marshall as a strategist, and of Eisenhower wrote (to Montgomery at Caen in July 1944!): "He knows nothing about strategy . . . has the very vaguest conception of war." Given British experience and American inexperience in war, this British military thoroughbred could not conceive of the American leaders as having military ideas worthy of respect. Whereas Sir Arthur often makes Brooke's initial pessimistic reactions the bench mark of his own conclusions regarding American "short-sightedness" and "incompetency," Brooke as often found that what the American Joint Chiefs or Eisenhower proposed was not as bad as he had feared and comes out feeling that he and his British military colleagues got enough of their own way to make the war quite a success. As historians we ought, in my opinion, to be most grateful for the revelations in Brooke's diaries and comments. The history of tactics and even of strategy in past wars, however recent, may have been deprived of its traditional values by the nuclear revolution. But human behavior under the tests of violent conflict remains a subject of which we cannot learn too much. Brooke's diaries disclose the intimate thoughts and feelings of the most responsible military authority in the British war effort under the all but intolerable emotional and practical pressures of "total" war. The British distrusted our ideas and we distrusted theirs to a depth that neither party seems to have realized at the time. Nevertheless they were able together to operate the greatest and most effective coalition in history.

Baltimore, Maryland

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

NEW ZEALAND, 1769-1840: EARLY YEARS OF WESTERN CONTACT. By *Harrison M. Wright*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 42.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 225. \$4.75.) Of the half dozen books that have recently appeared about early New Zealand this is one of the better. Mr. Wright analyzes the important aspects of the north island's history before 1840, with particular emphasis on the interaction between Maori and western societies. Certain anthropological problems are fully explored. The missionaries, whalers, traders, and other westerners who lived in New Zealand in the early years are considered as agents of change in the Maoris, and the Maoris are considered "as they and their environment altered the expectations and activities of the Westerners who came to live among them." Most of the book describes activities around the Bay of Islands. Extensive use has been made of unpublished sources. Wright first discusses the nature and extent of European penetration, with close attention to the relation of missionary to nonmissionary white population. He corrects the thesis that lawless traders and whalers destroyed Maori society with immoral activities before the missionaries arrived around 1814. He also demonstrates that the missionary population outnumbered the nonmissionary population until after 1830. The missionaries are shown to be very difficult people, with much dissension between the denominations. Samuel Marsden is judiciously analyzed and still remains the leading missionary. Wright also studies the causes of Maori depopulation and proves the common assumption that the nonmissionary population was a major cause is an oversimplification. The introduction of muskets and metal weapons amongst a warlike people, coupled with the uncontrolled spread of contagious diseases, was mainly responsible. The destructiveness of their wars is best illustrated by the famous Hongi's campaigns. One cannot but admire this great chief. Finally, Wright studies the effects of European society on Maori patterns of behavior, particularly the conversion of the Maoris to Christianity. He shows how they first did not wish to change, and became self-conscious, revealing cultural self-assertion. They rejected the white man's religion, his alcohol, and his swearing. The missionaries had practically no success before 1830. Then in the late 1830's there was a sudden change. Wright has written convincingly of the reasons. He questions the sincerity of many conversions, but he proves that the Maoris acted according to Christian precept. He concludes by describing the state of New Zealand in 1840. The book is distinguished by a number of new interpretations, particularly the westerner's underestimation of the durability of Maori habits of thought. Wright feels that the mutual misunderstanding between white and Maori precipitated the tensions and tragedies of the years that followed. He has made a real contribution in introducing so much anthropological data.

*Rutgers University*

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

CHURCH AND STATE IN CANADA WEST: THREE STUDIES IN THE RELATION OF DENOMINATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM, 1841-1867. By *John S. Moir*. [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 1.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 223. \$4.75.) These studies of church and state in Canada West have as their theme the conflict between what Dr. Moir calls centrifugal denominationalism and centripetal nationalism during one of the key periods of Canada's history. They are concerned with three main problems: the disposition of the Clergy Reserves, the university question, and the position of religion in elementary education. In each case the author has made extensive use of contemporary documents and of a very wide selection of the newspapers of the period, especially those that were essentially church papers. The result is a balanced, solidly based, and thoughtful interpretation of an important phase of Canada's political, social, and religious development. The book has a number of features that should commend it to those interested



in nineteenth-century Canada. It sets church-state relations against the background of growing Canadian nationalism. It reassesses the roles of such well-known antagonists as Strachan and Ryerson, while making use of new or little-known material on the part played in these questions by prominent Canadians like Thomas D'Arcy McGee and John A. Macdonald. The introductory chapter, "The First and Fourth Estates in Canada West," and the organizational charts and statistics in the appendix will be welcome guides to the complex affairs of Canada's early Protestant churches.

University of Maine

ALICE R. STEWART

THE AUSTRALIAN LEGEND. By *Russel Ward*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 262. \$5.85.) The Turner thesis, worked over by Australian historians Alexander and Harper, is here again tested out for Australian conditions. Ward argues that in the occupation of the Australian hinterland there was a kind of clearly definable frontier experience, convict derived in origin. In several generations this experience produced a folk consciousness among convicts and native-born who eventually constituted a pastoral proletariat. Thus Australian frontiersmen became, not small, individualistic farmers as in America, but unmarried men who scorned agricultural pursuits, wage earners who expected to be nothing else, and makers and singers of ballads—quoted liberally in the text—who expressed their pronounced collectivist attitude aimed at discomfiting pastoralists, police, and all in authority. Before 1900 the outlooks of this proletariat were somehow transferred to coastal urban society, thus laying the foundation for the so-called Australian legend. Ward says, for example, that the political policies of the influential Sydney *Bulletin* can mostly be traced back to social attitudes of the pastoral proletariat. A revision of a Ph.D. thesis at the Australian National University, the book is bound to give rise to much controversy.

University of Sydney

ANDREW D. OSBORN

## EUROPE

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM EARLY TIMES TO 1958. By *Herbert Butterfield et al.* Edited by *J. Hampden Jackson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 221. \$3.95.) It is perhaps best to begin by saying that one could hardly expect any two-hundred-page history of France to be an unmixed success. Why this book is no exception is in large measure owing to the same factors that produced its virtues. In fashion similar to the more successful *A Short History of Germany, 1815-1945*, by E. J. Passant and others, this volume was drawn from the historical section of the wartime British Naval Intelligence Handbook on France. Its contributors include a galaxy of scholars: Herbert Butterfield, D. W. Brogan, H. C. Darby, J. Hampden Jackson, Sir Ernest Barker, A. Ewert, and I. L. Foster, with Jackson also acting as editor. Since it is reasonable to assume that military as well as civilian readers would want a compact and informative introduction to the essentials of the country's history, whatever shortcomings the book has are not a result of the purpose for which these parts were originally drafted. It might be best to speak first of the second half of the volume, which is much the better section. Largely the work of Herbert Butterfield and Denis Brogan, it gives, after a somewhat indifferent account of the Revolution of 1789, an impressively balanced and compressed account of the modern period, especially for the era of the Third Republic, to which Brogan came fresh from his *Development of Modern France, 1870-1939*. At a similar pace Jackson rounds out the story to the end of the Fourth Republic in 1958. For the chapters on the earlier period, however, it is



not possible to be so enthusiastic. Jackson and Ewert open the volume with a brief although fully adequate introduction to the people and the language, but the bulk of this half of the book and the whole history of France before the Revolution (save for less than two pages added by the editor who probably was plagued by the same thoughts as those bothering the reviewer) are presented in the form of essays in historical geography, both political and economic, by Darby. The reader as a result passes into the modern period with an exceedingly one-sided background and with too much taken for granted as known to him. This is no criticism of Darby. Indeed it is a great pity that his informative and well-written chapters are buried here and are likely never to be seen by more serious readers. But it does indicate that the absence of a broader account of medieval France is a major deficiency, both in itself and for the later chapters. There is but one error of fact worth mentioning, and it only because much is made of it here as well as wherever it is repeated: "This was the ideal of Richelieu, who wrote in his *Testament politique*: 'J'ai voulu . . . identifier la Gaule avec la France.'" Richelieu, unfortunately, never said that or anything like it. More happily, the many generalizations with which a book of this sort is inevitably studded are almost universally acceptable.

University of Wisconsin

HENRY BERTRAM HILL

BERNARD DE FONTENELLE: THE IDEA OF SCIENCE IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By Leonard M. Marsak. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIX, Part 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1959. Pp. 64. \$1.50.) As we are often made aware nowadays, there is nothing like longevity to give quite an ordinary man great influence over his younger contemporaries. Had Fontenelle (born in 1657) died at the age of fifty, instead of one hundred, he would be remembered as a minor literary man who started a vogue for popularization of the new science with *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (1686) and who struck a telling blow for the moderns against the ancients with *Digression sur les anciens et les modernes* (1688). Because he was appointed perpetual secretary of the Académie royale des sciences in 1699 and held that post until 1741, he became a spokesman, publicist, and defender of official French science, through his yearly "History" of the Académie and his *éloges* of French and foreign academicians. Fontenelle is generally regarded as an apologist for Cartesian science, which he expounded first in the *Plurality of Worlds*, and last, at the age of ninety-two, in *Théorie des Tourbillons*. Mr. Marsak is convinced that this is far too simple a view, and much of this monograph is devoted to refuting previous critics and endeavoring to establish Fontenelle as a serious and independent thinker on scientific and philosophic problems. Beginning with an account of Fontenelle's reputation, the author discusses each aspect of his subject's thought, laying special stress on his ideas about science, but also including his literary, ethical, and social views. Marsak has studied Fontenelle's works with care and has much that is interesting to say both about their content and their purpose. He perhaps excessively labors the question of exactly how Cartesian Fontenelle was: the only perfect followers of Descartes are now totally unknown, for only by absorbing and adapting Cartesianism could any thinker be original enough to be remembered. But Marsak rightly points out the complexities of scientific advance that defy precise labels and indicates how much of an empiricist spirit there was in the Académie before the *Encyclopédistes* made scientific heroes of Bacon and Newton.

University of California, Los Angeles

MARIE BOAS HALL

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE ABBÉ DE SAINT-PIERRE. By Merle L. Perkins. (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard.

1959. Pp. 157.) Most recent books dealing with the history of peace movements have contained accounts of the work of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre. The author of the present volume maintains that not enough attention has been given to the "intellectual heart" of the abbé's moral and political philosophy. Hence he does not offer simply another analysis of the peace plan or of *La Polysynodie* but explores the "rich veins and pockets" of the abbé's thinking as revealed in his voluminous notes. In other words, this volume concerns itself not so much with the point to which the abbé finally came as with how he got there. The author has examined the Rousseau collection at Neuchâtel, materials in Paris, Rouen, and London, and microfilm and other materials in this country. Mr. Perkins challenges a number of assumptions concerning the abbé. The abbé, for example, was probably not at Utrecht in 1712 during the negotiations for terminating the War of Spanish Succession. His ideas developed from discussion with diplomats who were there. Furthermore, he was not a utopian dreamer who believed that man follows the principle of rationality to the exclusion of self-interest. And he did not have a naïve faith in enlightened despots. Nor do the facts indicate that Rousseau did not take the abbé seriously. On the contrary, Rousseau was deeply impressed by the great views of the man whose works he summarized and criticized and occasionally misinterpreted or misrepresented. The book is a product of careful work. The chapter on "The Political Theories of Saint-Pierre and Rousseau" is particularly enlightening. Students of peace movements and international organization will continue to reflect upon Saint-Pierre's ideas which, Perkins believes, "may in time occupy a higher and more solid place in the history of ideas."

*Abilene Christian College*

JOHN C. STEVENS

GILBERT ROMME: STORIA DI UN RIVOLUZIONARIO. By *Alessandro Galante Garrone*. Preface by *Georges Lefebvre*. [Studi e ricerche, Number 12.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1959. Pp. 584. L. 4,000.) This masterly biography of Gilbert Romme (1750-1795) is an original and significant contribution to the historical literature of the Enlightenment and French Revolution. The author, a Turin judge who participated in the resistance and liberation movements, is one of Italy's leading professional historians. To his well-known Buonarroti and other studies he now adds a richly documented, lucid, and informative biography of the "last Montagnard" based on exhaustive study of all published and archival materials. Romme's papers are widely dispersed (Milan, Paris, and Leningrad) so the author has performed a tour de force. He is fully abreast of contemporary scholarship and interpretation. His felicitously written narrative follows Romme from Riom where he was born and educated, to Paris where he studied medicine and absorbed philosophical and scientific ideas, to Catherine the Great's Russia where he lived, worked, and traveled for seven years (1779-1786) as tutor of Count Pavel Stroganov (who later pushed Czar Alexander I toward liberalism), to Switzerland, and finally, in 1788, back to France where he initiated Pavel into revolutionary politics. When his pupil was recalled to St. Petersburg, Romme became a club leader and propagandist of the Revolution, was elected to the legislative assembly and then to the National Convention where he sat among the Montagnards, played a leading role in the Committee of Public Instruction (he created the revolutionary calendar), went on important missions to Normandy and the Dordogne, and in the end, died as he had lived, an austere and indomitable Montagnard. The book will probably long remain the definitive biography. The author provides a brilliant interpretation of the interplay of revolutionary ideals, sentiments, and action. All aspects of Romme's career as scholar, educator, scientist, mathematician, political organizer, propagandist, legislator, and dechristianizer are developed so as to reveal the evolution and continuity of his political, social, economic, and

religious thought and practice from the austere and fervent Jansenism of his youth to the austere and fervent "Jacobinism" of the stoical "martyr of Prairial." The book, moreover, gives insights into political forces, intellectual movements, scientific developments, and economic and social conditions in eighteenth-century France and Russia. Other valuable features include a note on archival sources, texts of thirty-two Romme letters of 1789-1795, and minutes of his *Société des Amis de la Loi*.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

THIERS ET LE BARON COTTA: ÉTUDE SUR LA COLLABORATION DE THIERS À LA GAZETTE D'AUGSBOURG. By *Robert Marquant*. [Travaux et Mémoires des Instituts Français en Allemagne, Number 7.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. xxi, 537. 1,800 fr.) From 1823 to 1830 not the least of the journalistic tasks of Adolphe Thiers was service as a Paris political correspondent for the influential *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (*Gazette d'Augsbourg*), published by Baron Johann Friedrich Cotta. In an attractive volume Robert Marquant presents for the first time over a hundred of Thiers' letters to his German employer, free from the dilutions they underwent prior to actual publication in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. In his lengthy introduction Marquant discusses Cotta and his paper clearly, but without adding much to previous treatments. More important is a definitive statement of Thiers' profitable financial relations with Cotta, about which there has been considerable confusion. It should be noted that Marquant has done a careful job of editing the Thiers letters, offering a thorough set of explanatory notes and an admirable index. Marquant wisely avoids an extended analysis of the letters themselves, for their lucidity and accuracy make this unnecessary. Too infrequent to constitute a real commentary on the Restoration, the letters are valuable primarily in presenting Thiers' opinions on various events of the period. Fundamentally a reporter in these letters, Thiers does not develop an elaborate political philosophy, but on occurrences and personages of the day he speaks more vigorously than he could in papers in his native France. The Thiers who emerges from the letters is scarcely a surprise: liberal, opposed to the clergy, the aristocracy, and the Bourbons, but already demonstrating independence of mind in defending statesmanship irrespective of party and in urging France to pursue national interest above all else. Marquant does not pretend to change the usual interpretation of Thiers in the Restoration; he has provided a convenient means by which this interpretation can be elaborated and confirmed.

Harvard University

PETER N. STEARNS

LES DÉPÊCHES DIPLOMATIQUES DU COMTE DE GOBINEAU EN PERSE: TEXTES INÉDITS PRÉSENTÉS ET ANNOTÉS. By *Adrienne Doris Hytier*. Preface by *Jean Hytier*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Volume XXX.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard. 1959. Pp. 265. 25 fr. S.) Although beset by the quarrels that raged within him, Arthur de Gobineau was a keen observer and an alert witness. These were the talents that won him his first appointment to the diplomatic service as Tocqueville's *chef de cabinet* in the Foreign Ministry. This skill was subsequently well employed in his dispatches from Persia. Gobineau represented France as first secretary at Teheran from October 1856 to January 1858 and as ambassador from January 1862 to September 1863. His dispatches do not alter any basic features of the established historical picture of Persia during this period. His reports to Paris do add, however, on-the-scene details that illustrate Anglo-Russian rivalry at the court of Nasir Ud-Din. As the representative of a power that had no great ambitions in Persia, Gobineau was the recipient of guarded confidences from the

Shah's ministers. His letters record above all Persia's desire to achieve status as a nation free of Great Britain's influence and pressure. This wish could even lead Persia, as reported in a dispatch of January 5, 1857, to take satisfaction in the supposed presence of 200,000 soldiers in Russia's Georgian province and surrounding regions. Gobineau further noted, on this same day, Persian anticipation that the commercial treaty concluded with the United States, at Constantinople in December 1856, might somehow result in American naval support. Similarly, at the news of the Great Mutiny in India, Gobineau transmitted the intelligence of Persian ill-concealed delight coupled with the hope that this disaster was the beginning of Great Britain's expulsion from India and Central Asia. The dispatches provide valuable background for the reading of Gobineau's *Trois ans en Asie*, his correspondence with the Comte de Prokesch-Osten, and in a minor way, his correspondence with Tocqueville. The editor deserves high praise for her care with this volume. Her notes identifying persons, places, and attending circumstances enhance the worth of these new documents.

Loyola University, Chicago

EDWARD T. GARGAN

ALGERIA IN TURMOIL: A HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. By Michael K. Clark. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 466. \$6.00.) Michael Clark covered the early years of the Algerian rising as correspondent of the New York Times. He has now used this experience to write a detailed account of the rebellion in Algeria from its beginning in November 1954 until January 1959. The narrative, freely illustrated with contemporary statements, is arranged chronologically. From time to time, however, the author interrupts it in order to follow up at once future developments concerning the event or person of whom he is speaking at the moment. This is confusing to the reader. Far more serious is the extent to which Clark is influenced by assumptions that are far from commanding general assent. It is clear, for example, that he regards the achievement of independence by Arab states as an unmitigated misfortune, brought about by the irresolution of the powers that permit it to happen. His hero is Jacques Soustelle whose sayings and writings he quotes freely, including the grotesque mistranslation of a captured Arabic document which the former governor general of Algeria printed in his *Aimée et souffrante Algérie*. Clark repeats and makes his own the thesis that the rising was due to external influences, principally that of Egypt, rather than to the natural feelings of the Algerians themselves, and he writes that the rebellion was at the start, and has remained, the work of a small minority. Of course the actual planners of the rising were a handful of men, as were the planners of other national risings. But now when over 120,000 uniformed Moslem Algerians have been killed in the fighting (even at the French estimate, which is a minimum), when over 200,000 more have taken refuge in Tunisia and Morocco, when the French army has found it necessary to "resettle," that is concentrate under their direct control, more than a million villagers, and when many thousand middle-class Moslems are under preventive arrest, the assertion in the second half of the thesis is quite untenable. The author's sympathy for the outlook of the die-hard settlers is perfectly legitimate, but it should not lead him to suppress all mention of such an important fact as the attempted assassination by some of them of the French commander in chief because they considered him to be too soft. The book has undoubted value as a day-to-day account of the rebellion as it appeared to French die-hards and to French intelligence officers, but it cannot be considered to give an authoritative or impartial account of the background of the struggle or of the factors leading to its outbreak.

South Newington, Oxon, England

NEVILL BARBOUR

HET VLAAMS-NATIONALISME, 1914-1940. By *A. W. Willemsen*. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 13.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1958. Pp. xiv, 424. Fl. 22.50.) Dr. Willemsen's study of Flemish nationalism from 1914 to 1940 is the first comprehensive survey of the subject to be published since the volumes by Clough and Basse appeared in the early thirties. The book was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Professor Pieter Geyl of Utrecht University. The meat of the volume is in the three chapters dealing with Flemish nationalism as manifested outside the framework of the traditional political parties. These chapters deal successively with the so-called "activists" who collaborated with German occupation forces in World War I, with the postwar Flemish front, which consolidated into a political party the wartime nationalist movement among Flemish militiamen, and with such subsequent authoritarian movements as the *Verdinaso* of Joris van Severen and the Flemish National League of Staf de Clercq in the 1930's. The author's intimate knowledge of his subject shows to excellent advantage in his detailed discussion of rivalries and feuds among these movements and their leaders. In two intervening chapters the author attempts to relate these specifically nationalist movements to the activities of the traditional political parties. These chapters appear to this reviewer to be less successful, perhaps because they are sometimes poorly organized and repetitive. The author's excessive attention to detail and a tendency—not uncommon among writers of doctoral dissertations—to assume too much knowledge on the part of the public detract from the readability of Willemsen's study and make it a work primarily for the specialist. If one general conclusion emerges from the book, it is that Flemish nationalism offered too narrow a base for constructively organized political action. It would seem that the frustration that drove the "activists" toward collaboration with the foreign invader in World War I and that led the Flemish nationalist organizations to embrace antidemocratic and authoritarian doctrines during the 1930's stemmed largely from the fact that all other more promising political positions had already been occupied by the traditional parties. As might be expected of a student of Geyl's, Willemsen leans over backward to be fair to the Flemish nationalists. He is also at great pains to claim as much influence for their organizations as the rather meager facts would seem to warrant. I am, nevertheless, left with the feeling that the Flemish nationalist organizations were more a disturbing than a constructive element. In describing this particular malady of the Belgian body politic with candor and scientific accuracy, Willemsen has rendered a service to political pathology, no matter whether one agrees or disagrees with his diagnosis.

*Stuttgart, Germany*

BERTUS H. WABEKE

A HISTORY OF PRICES AND WAGES IN DENMARK, 1660-1800. Volume I. By *Astrid Friis* and *Kristof Glamann*. (London: Longmans, Green and Company for the Institute of Economics and History, Copenhagen. 1958. Pp. xv, 350. £2 10s.) This is the first volume of a series on Danish price history sponsored by the Institute of Economics and History in Copenhagen. Based on the principles established by the International Scientific Committee on Price History, it is intended to take its place among the several price histories inspired by that group. While the commodities studied are in general those recommended by the committee, the availability of data has dictated the choice of a shorter time span than that used in comparable studies, namely 1660-1800. The institute plans first to present commodity prices, arranged in local series, and then to present wage data. The current volume, after a general introduction, is devoted to Copenhagen commodity prices. The introduction (comprising 40 per cent of the volume) offers background material on Danish money, weights, and



measures. The monetary survey includes descriptions of the various kinds of metallic and paper money issued, with data on the amounts in circulation at different times, and calculations of their value in both exchange rates and silver. The section on weights and measures will be indispensable to any historian who wishes to study Danish commerce of the period. It is the first systematic discussion of this subject in English and it includes a comprehensive glossary of the various units of measure and weight. The full price series for Copenhagen begins with 1712, when market prices were first published regularly. From this date to 1800 quotations for about forty commodities are available, and for most years the data is monthly. Prices historians will be disappointed at the short time span of this series, but the frequency of quotation will permit its use for the study of short-run calculations. The technical aspects of the work are competently handled: all price quotations are expressed in comparable units and conversion tables into silver equivalents will facilitate international comparisons. While price historians and students of Danish history will find useful data in the price series, this volume with its copious statistical data (260 pages of tables) is not for the general reader. The introductory section on money, weights, and measures will be of most general interest.

*North Park College*

J. WILLIAM FREDRICKSON

AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S THOUGHT ON JUSTICE, LAW, AND SOCIETY. By *F. Edward Cranz*. [Harvard Theological Studies, Number 19.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 197.) Luther's social ethic, so often ignored or misinterpreted, gave a mighty impetus toward a rationally regulated social order, but also a powerful counteraction to either religious or irreligious rationalism and secularism. Professor Cranz here offers a careful technical study of the development of Luther's social thought. Basic to Luther's mature position, he finds, is the recognition that "the believing Christian lives simultaneously in two distinct realms of existence": in Christ, he is already totally just; in the world he is a real sinner, in process of being sanctified; total justification is antecedent to sanctification. This basic insight is achieved about 1518-1519; the new social thought founded thereon becomes clearly conceptualized about 1530. Cranz traces the strands of this development: justice (both religious and secular) and law; church and society. This is a painstaking and useful study. I mention two criticisms. Cranz assumes too easily that Luther's "general re-orientation" took place in 1518-1519, and thus too glibly disposes of Holl, R. Hermann, Loewenich, Iwand, *et al.* Secondly, I have misgivings over his interpretation of several key concepts, for example "theology of the cross," "in heaven," hiddenness, mask, and sign; all this affects his understanding of justification and sanctification. I would locate the basic flaw in Cranz's conception of "spiritual" in Luther. I suggest, too, that the essay would benefit from greater attention to the place of love in Luther's thought.

*Chicago Lutheran Seminary*

ROBERT H. FISCHER

DIE STAATSREFORM IN KURSACHSEN, 1762-1763: QUELLEN ZUM KUR-SÄCHSISCHEN RÉTABLISSEMENT NACH DEM SIEBENTJÄHRIGEN KRIEGE. Edited and with introduction by *Horst Schlechte*. [Schriftenreihe des Sächsischen Landeshauptarchivs Dresden in Auftrage der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung im Ministerium des Innern, Number 5.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1958. Pp. xi, 608. Dm 33.20.) This impressive collection of primary sources, extracted from various archives, illuminates the remaking of the political and economic order and the regrouping and ideological reorientation of the upper classes in Electoral Saxony at the close of the Seven Years' War. Reform was precipitated by war dislocation, an ill-fated



foreign policy, and the acceleration of social mobility. The present publication focuses on the interconnections between three major aspects: the restaffing of the personnel of the central administration, the economic and fiscal policies inaugurated by the bureaucratic leaders, and the recasting of the administrative institutions. Most of the "new men" who after 1762 occupied the most influential positions in the political power hierarchy came from the business elite and the intellectually creative elements of the third estate. Some of them acquired noble status in the course of their official careers. Their political and social "arrival" ushered in a basic change in the system of government, the transition from whimsical monarchical despotism to enlightened bureaucratic absolutism which continued to be limited, however, by the traditional powers of the landed nobility. But the top bureaucrats also managed to give a new direction to governmental policy. Their efforts at comprehensive domestic reconstruction were concentrated on the improvement of efficiency in public administration, the retrenchment of the armed forces, the promotion of economic growth especially through the encouragement of "*laissez faire, laissez passer*," and the downgrading of privilege. The views and deeds of these enterprising innovators bear eloquent witness to the transformation of the theory and practice of Central European cameralism under the impact of the Western European Enlightenment and of German Pietism as a socio-political reform movement. The value of this interesting book is greatly enhanced by Schlechte's long, thoughtful, extremely informative, and well-balanced introduction, which is but slightly marred by lip service to Marxian clichés. It is good to know that in exceptional instances there is room for high-caliber historical scholarship in the German Democratic Republic.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

SØNDERJYLLAND UNDER TREÅRSKRIGEN: ET BIDRAG TIL DETS POLITISKE HISTORIE. Volume I, FRA REVOLUTIONENS UDBRUD TIL VÅBENSTILSTANDENS OPHØR FORÅRET 1849. By *Holger Hjelholt*. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag. 1959. Pp. 253. Kr. 10.) This is a work of sound scholarship, based on thorough use of sources. It is, in a sense, a work on "local" history, a detailed study of a short period in a small area. Yet it is local history that was and is of more than local interest. The revolt in Schleswig-Holstein was a part of the revolutionary movement of 1848-1849. It had an important influence on the course of the revolution in Germany, though the extent and weight of that influence are still matters of scholarly controversy. It engaged the political interests and the diplomatic intervention of the European great powers. Hjelholt presents these relations only incidentally in his first volume. For readers who are not interested in the persons and incidents for their own sake, the book is a contribution to the literature on nationalism, a case study of national conflict at the grass roots. It shows what nationalism meant to individuals and how they acted under its influence in a crisis.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

ZWISCHEN KAISERREICH UND DIKTATUR: DIE SOZIAL-DEMOKRATISCHE PRESSE VON 1914 BIS 1933. By *Kurt Koszyk*. [Deutsche Presseforschung, Number 1.] (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1958. Pp. 275. DM 23.00.) This, the first volume in the series *Deutsche Presseforschung*, opens with a short review of the Social Democratic press before 1914 and continues in clear fashion through the early years of the First World War. The presentation for the period from the split of the Independent Socialists until the reunion of the two parties in 1922 is regrettably overlaid with details about individual newspapers and editors and with a confusing combination of party and press history. Perhaps, considering the variety of conflicts

within both party and press and the author's effort to follow the Independent Socialists as well as the majority party, some confusion is inevitable, but one may ask whether a different structure, such as the topical arrangement of Erich Matthias' study of the emigrant Socialist press after 1933, would not have produced a more satisfactory book. Still, the material covered is extensive, as is the author's knowledge of the daily press, Socialist periodicals, protocols of party meetings, and documents dealing with the Socialist press in the Zentralarchiv, Abteilung Merseburg. The press faithfully mirrored internal party struggles, just as it reflected the Socialists' difficulties with government and military authorities during the war, and their weaknesses under the Republic. Naturally the northern German papers, especially the *Vorwärts*, and the important party periodicals get most attention. Bavaria, where the *Münchener Post* provides an essential source for much more than local Socialist history, is less fully treated. The Socialist press long remained too much a cross between propaganda brochure and local house organ to acquire a circle of influence as broad as that of the party itself. It preached, but it preached largely to those already converted. Only reluctantly did the concept spread in the 1920's of the newspaper in contrast to the party bulletin; at the same time more efficient general organization did something to alleviate chronic financial troubles. But too little was done, and that too late, to have much effect against depression and the rising dictatorial tide.

*Harvard University*

REGINALD H. PHELPS

GUSTAV STRESEMAN: EINE POLITISCHE BIOGRAPHIE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Annelise Thimme*. (Hanover and Frankfurt am Main: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel. 1957. Pp. 132. DM 6.80.) Since Stresemann's death in October 1929 there has been controversy about the man and his work. To German nationalists he was a traitor. To French nationalists he laid the foundations of German military power on which Hitler built. In Britain and the United States he was most often described as a great European, a statesman who died when his genius was needed most. Now that Stresemann's private papers are open to scholars, the controversy has taken on new intensity. Dr. Thimme's study is brief and undocumented, but it is based on a close study of the Stresemann papers and it is written with vigor and humor, what the Germans call "gallows humor." To her, Stresemann was neither a traitor, a diabolically clever chauvinist, nor a great European; he was a middle-class German nationalist blessed with superb ability to extract from even a desperate situation some advantage for his country. But while each of his great moves—abandonment of passive resistance, the Dawes Plan, Locarno, the Young Plan—improved the position of Germany, his ultimate objective was unattainable. The "free" Germany he sought, and the German people demanded, free of the reparations burden, free of limitation on armaments, and free to alter her eastern frontiers, would have been a Germany dangerous not only to France but to all Europe. In short, Dr. Thimme asks her countrymen to look at their history without illusion, to recognize that they were not brought to ruin by the madness of Hitler, but by their own blind nationalism. In six years Stresemann brought Germany from misery and isolation to prosperity and a respected position in the councils of Europe, yet within Germany opposition to his policy became increasingly venomous, because he had not won the hegemony which would have been fatal to the other states of Europe. Death alone saved him from repudiation by his countrymen. Dr. Thimme has made a strong case, and it will be interesting to see how her study is received by German scholars. To an outsider it seems that her exclusive preoccupation with Germany makes her indictment of Stresemann too harsh. All European statesmen of the interwar years were driven to promise their people the impossible: peace and

security without sacrifice of national interest. At the outset Woodrow Wilson was repudiated because he had demanded national sacrifice. Thereafter, few were willing to risk his fate. It is exactly because he was willing to force his countrymen to accept the consequences of defeat that Stresemann towers above most of his contemporaries. *University of California, Berkeley* RAYMOND J. SONTAG

HINDENBURG ALS REICHSPRÄSIDENT. By *Friedrich J. Lucas*. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Number 14.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1959. Pp. 157. DM. 13.80.) A thorough study of Hindenburg's role as president of the Weimar Republic is much needed. A great deal of new material has become available since Wheeler-Bennett wrote his *Wooden Titan* (1936); and Walter Görlitz' *Hindenburg* (1953), while telling things we did not know before, can hardly qualify as scholarly and objective. Dr. Lucas' brief book, originally written as a Bonn dissertation, unfortunately does not quite fill this need. It is not only based entirely on published sources, but it often relies on secondary works of doubtful merit. The author claims to have "tried to get as close as possible to primary sources," but he did not try as hard as one might have wished. Some published documents, like those of the Nuremberg trials, are cited only at second hand. Hindenburg's own papers, of course, were closely guarded by his recently deceased son Oscar. But there were other documents available, such as the microfilmed cabinet protocols, that might have illuminated the subject. And in addition, some effort might have been made to consult living contemporaries of Hindenburg. As a result of its limited sources, the book says nothing startlingly new. Its main usefulness will be as a basis for more intensive work on Hindenburg. Most of the book is devoted to the period after 1930, the fateful years when the Weimar Republic rapidly went to pieces. Prior to that time Hindenburg, in Lucas' opinion, had been fairly careful in not exceeding his constitutional role as *pouvoir neutre*. On one occasion at least, in his defense of the Young Plan, the president—"perhaps for the only time in his whole career"—even showed "signs of statesmanlike greatness." From that time on, however, Hindenburg not only tolerated but encouraged the change to authoritarian methods which laid the basis for Hitler's rise to power. Lucas, in his conclusion, distinguishes between Hindenburg's moral and historical responsibility. On the first score, he leans over backward to be fair, refusing to see anything morally wrong in Hindenburg's frequent evasions of responsibility and his shrewd pursuit of private profit. In his historical verdict, on the other hand, the author is more severe. Hindenburg's activities as president, especially after 1930, he concludes, must be counted "among the essential causes for the advent of the 'Third Reich.'"

*Johns Hopkins University*

HANS W. GATZKE

KIRCHE IN ÖSTERREICH: WEGWEISER DURCH IHRE GESCHICHTE. By *Josef Wodka*. (Vienna: Verlag Herder. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 495. DM 28.50.) No work of human policy has exerted a longer or more diversified impact upon the folk called Austrians than the Roman Catholic Church. Starting with Christians in the Roman legions who penetrated into the Danubian region and proceeding to the diffusion of the faith from the centers of Passau and Salzburg, this study sweeps onward through the centuries to the appointment in 1959 of Francis B. König as cardinal. If the test of a writer's excellence is that he has put into his book as much as it will hold, Mr. Wodka, a specialist in Austrian diocesan history, comes off admirably. Intended as a manual of reference, a guide, the book in places resembles a chronicle rather than a historical narrative. A rich bibliography, exclusively in the German language, and scholarly notes, together occupying a sixth of the pages, will prove serviceable to any investi-

gator of the Austrian past whose interests range deeply. A vast amount of dedicated industry has gone into the creation of this volume, nearly a third of which is devoted to the era before the coming of the Hapsburgs and the final quarter covers the last century or so. Skillfully interwoven are crisp, perceptive essays on the religious and cultural activities of the High Middle Ages, the interaction of the Church and the University of Vienna, the prodigious labors of the Society of Jesus in the recovery of Austria for Catholicism, the role of churchmen in social reforms, and the challenge of materialism and agnosticism to the religious heritage. While 90 per cent of present-day Austrians are reckoned as Catholics, "practicing" believers hardly exceed a third of that figure. On all these themes and on decisive personalities in the evolution of the Church, the writer has some trenchant things to say and he says them very well. A laudable degree of objectivity has been attained, though now and then an extremely dubious judgment is offered, for instance, the ascription of the First World War to the malevolence of Freemasonry bent upon destroying the Austro-Hungarian bulwark of Catholicism. The success of the Church in riding out fearful vicissitudes in the past, it is argued, nourishes faith and hope for her future.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

GROSSE ÖSTERREICHER. [Neue Österreichische Biographie ab 1815, Volume XIII.] (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag. c. 1959. Pp. 214.) This is the thirteenth volume of a work originally planned in 1916-1917 by a special committee of the Austrian Academy of Sciences to bring up to date Constantin von Wurzbach's invaluable *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterreich*. The first volume, *Neue Österreichische Biographie 1815-1918*, was published by Wiener Drucke in 1923. Volumes II-VIII, published by Amalthea Verlag, were completed between 1925 and 1935. Interrupted by the *Anschluss* and World War II, the project was revived after the war. Volume IX, *Neue Österreichische Biographie ab 1815*, was brought out in 1956. Beginning with Volume X the title was again changed, this time to *Grosse Österreicher: Neue Österreichische Biographie ab 1815*. As in the other volumes in the series, the biographical essays in Volume XIII have followed no systematic pattern. The first article deals with Empress Elizabeth, the second, with Nikolaus Lenau, the fourth, with Alexander von Bach, and the last, with Clemens Kraus. Although a few of the essays, such as the one on Alexander von Bach by Friedrich Walter, show a depth of insight which is rare, they are uneven in quality. The bibliographical references at the end of each article are usually so few in number that the serious student must of necessity turn to a seventy-eight-page bibliographical volume published in 1925, the only publication dealing with the second, or bibliographical, part of the projected series which has thus far been printed, for helpful guides for further study. Since the biographical essays are devoted to so few people, the reader can find information in the above series about only a relatively small number of the many notable Austrians who have lived during the past century and a half. Furthermore, since the essays are arranged at random, and since the reader can find his way through the work only by turning to an alphabetical name index at the end of each volume, the thirteen volumes in the series which have thus far been published can hardly be looked upon as a handy reference work. For a complete, alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary the reader must turn to still another series, which was originally planned by the Academy of Sciences in the 1920's as Part III of the project: the *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, the first volume of which was published by Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. in 1957.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

PAGES D'HISTOIRE VAUDOISE. By *Charles Gilliard*. Texts selected by *Louis Junod*. [Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, Volume XXII.] (Lausanne: Imprimerie Centrale. 1959. Pp. 349.) This work assembles seventeen contributions to the history of the Pays de Vaud by the late Charles Gilliard, chosen for inclusion because of their relative inaccessibility in minor journals and *Festschriften*. The subjects range chronologically from the fifteenth century to the early nineteenth. Several pieces are concerned with the town of Yverdon and its uneasy position in the complicated struggles among Savoy, Burgundy, the Swiss Confederation, and the Valois and Hapsburg powers. Another group deals with the political and religious administration of the Pays de Vaud by Bern, and it is followed by an account from Genevan sources of the abortive effort of Major Davel in 1723 to free Lausanne from Bernese rule. While these writings are chiefly of political interest, the last section of the book will above all interest the social historian. It consists of descriptions, with lengthy extracts, of a number of personal documents that came into the hands of the author: the household account books of an eighteenth-century Lausanne schoolmaster and an early nineteenth-century family of Moudon, the journal of an eighteenth-century pastor, the Italian travel diary of a minor Swiss philosophe, and some letters written by La Harpe in his old age. All these articles represent the best in local historical writing. Gilliard's interest here was clearly in the local scene and in particular persons, and he was not much concerned with the larger problems of European history. But he wrote with clarity, and affectionate attention to detail, and meticulous scholarship.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

STORIA DEL BANCO DI NAPOLI. Volume II, IL BANCO DELLE DUE SICILIE (1808-1863). By *Domenico Demarco*. (Naples: Direzione Generale del Banco. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 492.) In the writing of business history, an author must decide how much emphasis he is going to place upon the internal story of the concern with which he is dealing, how much upon the particular industry of which his concern is a part, and how much on the role of the institution in the economy under consideration. Upon the decisions made in these matters will depend in large measure the character of the final product. Professor Domenico Demarco of the faculty of commerce of the University of Naples came to the conclusion in making his plans for the present work, the second volume of the *Storia del Banco di Napoli*, that he should focus his attention upon the internal problems of this famous banking institution. Accordingly he gives us little about the contributions of the bank to the economic development of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, or about the lack of such contribution, but provides us with considerable detail concerning matters of bank administration, the financial repercussions of political crises created by the conquests of Napoleon, the revolutions of 1820 and 1830, and the complications connected with the introduction of a new monetary system after unification in 1860. In the following volumes the place of banking in the economy of the Mezzogiorno will undoubtedly be given more attention than here, for banking became more important. The Bank of Naples should be congratulated for having issued such an excellent example of book-making. It is a pity that our "affluent society" cannot do so well, that the laurels should always, or almost always, go to the underdeveloped economies.

*Columbia University*

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

ESULI RUSSI IN PIEMONTE DOPO IL '48. By *Franco Venturi*. [Studi e ricerche, Number 13.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1959. Pp. 157.) Already well known as an expert in both Russian and *risorgimento* history, Franco Venturi here attempts to combine his interests. He bridges these areas by writing first about the few Pied-



montese who, as a result of travel, scholarship, or insight, began to devote some attention to Russia, and then by discussing the equally small number of Russians, already experienced exiles, who made their way to Piedmont after 1848, having found themselves unwelcome elsewhere. These were interesting and unusual men, some of whom (like D'Azeglio or Herzen) had achieved general European fame. In describing their activities Venturi touches on and adds material for the further understanding of a number of important themes. It is useful to know that to these Russian exiles Piedmont stood out as one of the few oases of liberalism. It is made clear here once again what a cosmopolitan group mid-century European reformers were. They discussed perhaps a bit too easily the literature and politics of every major European country. The intellectual currents by which all these men determined and justified their own positions were impressively international; the ideas of Fourier and Proudhon, of Mazzini, of German philosophy and English liberalism were all considered and used. Finally, the very fact of these slight Italo-Russian contacts was in a small way symptomatic. It reflected a romantic excitement in the biography of peoples and an ability to foresee new historical forces in the inevitable rise of their two countries. The Russians interested in Italy or the Italians aware of Russia were, however, a few individuals whose interests had developed in part by accident, and their existence raises no clear historical problem which can give focus to a study of them. The book therefore becomes a set of fragmentary biographies and vignettes. Each chapter treats one or two of the Italians who made a study of Russian affairs or of the Russians in Piedmont (although two French exiles who moved in these circles also earn a chapter). Thus each chapter almost stands alone, and the discussion of these men reflects the unevenness of the available sources, while extensive quotations give a good sense of their content. The use made of their letters and publications and of contemporary newspaper comment is always sensitive and perceptive. The book recounts the relationships of Valerio and Herzen, of D'Azeglio and the Italo-Slav Society, of Orsini, Pisacane, Mezzacapo, Bertani, and Engel'son and Golovin. The things they argued about, their comments on literature and history, their life in Nice during its brief period as a favored haven—all these things make an interesting footnote to the history of the period. But it is a brief as well as a small one. By 1852 the Russians moved elsewhere and the Italians were absorbed in their own affairs. As they centered more on the concrete and the practical, the interests of nationalists grew less universal.

*Princeton University* RAYMOND GREW

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA FRANCIA E IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA. III Serie: 1848-1860. Volume II, 4 GENNAIO 1851-30 DICEMBRE 1857. Parts 1 and 2. Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Fonti per la storia d'Italia, Volume XXXIV. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi potenze europee e gli stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.] (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea. 1959. Pp. 339; 342-683. L. 5,000.) Volumes I and III of this series of Franco-Tuscan documents were recently reviewed (*AHR*, LXV [Jan. 1960], 425), and now Volume II has just appeared in two parts. It contains a selection of 367 French official diplomatic dispatches taken from the French Foreign Ministry archives from all three principal series: *correspondance politique*, *correspondance consulaire*, and *mémoires et documents*. As usual we naturally learn more about Tuscany than about France: 293 are reports from Florence, and only seventy-four are instructions from Paris. But one obtains a strong conviction on reading the documents that an excellent and adequate selection has been made. The period covered by these documents is an important one: the Hapsburg restoration policy in Tuscany, establishment of the Second Empire, the eastern question, the



Crimean War, Drouyn de Lhuys's mission to Vienna, the rupture of Tuscan-Sardinian relations, and the Congress of Paris. Here too is an additional presentation of the correspondence of important French statesmen of the Second Empire—that of Drouyn de Lhuys, Walewski, La Tour d'Auvergne, and Baroche. As in the case of the other two volumes this one contains chronological tables, with summaries in Italian, editorial footnotes, and a very helpful index. Again Dr. Saitta has demonstrated his incomparable editorial skill in his presentation and treatment of the texts. The quality of this series places it on the same high level of workmanship that has now become familiar in the great Italian diplomatic collections of the Cavour correspondence, the other volumes of the *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, and the *Documenti diplomatici italiani*. All such publications place the historical profession very much in debt to Italian scholarship.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Settima Serie: 1922-1935. Volume II (27 APRILE 1923-22 FEBBRAIO 1924). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri. 1955. Pp. liv, 503.) This volume of Italian diplomatic correspondence is the work of Professor Ruggero Moscati of the University of Messina, who is secretary of the Commission for the Publication of Diplomatic Documents and the editor of the seventh series. The 663 documents reproduced in the text have been drawn mainly from the Archivio Storico of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ufficio Storico of the Navy. Other governmental archives have been used, including the Archivio Centrale dello Stato, and a few private collections, among them the unpublished memoirs of Count Alessandro De Bosdari. The volume opens rather abruptly in late April 1923 with the question of recognizing a Russian delegate to the Lausanne Conference, who was murdered a few days later, and closes in February 1924 with the annexation of Fiume to the kingdom of Italy. The Corfu crisis is the principal topic of the volume, and the documentation is sufficiently full to bring out Mussolini's policy with respect to the Greek, British, and French governments, the Conference of Ambassadors, and the League of Nations. Other topics receiving some attention are the negotiations of the Italo-Yugoslav agreement of January 27, 1924, concerning Fiume, the position of Italians in Tunis, the Dodecanese Islands, compensation to Italy in Jubaland, the Tangier question, and the question of the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations. There is much on Italy's relations with Great Britain, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, less on Spain and Rumania, and enough to show Mussolini's attitude toward the League of Nations. There is little on the Lausanne Conference, German internal affairs, reparations and war debts, or the occupation of the Ruhr. There are but few reports on political parties or on internal developments in the various European countries. The brief account of the Transylvanian national party makes one wish that more of this kind of diplomatic reporting had been included. Like the immediately preceding volume in this series, the present work is important for what is brought out concerning Mussolini's foreign policy at the outset of his career as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy. Moscati has produced a useful and valuable volume of documents.

University of Michigan

HOWARD M. EHRLMANN

O POLSKĄ KORONĘ: POLITYKA FRANCJI W LATACH 1725-1733 [For the Polish Crown: French Policy in the Years 1725-1733]. By Emanuel Rostworowski. [Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch. Works of the Commission of the Historical Sciences, Number 2.] (Cracow: Ossoliński National Institution, Publishing House of the Polish Academy of Sciences. 1958. Pp. 363. Zł. 35.) This study, based upon a doctoral dissertation at the University of Cracow, provides the fullest account to date of French policy concerning the succession to the Polish throne in 1725-1733, that

is, from the time of the marriage of Louis XV with Maria Leszczyńska to the death of Augustus II, king of Poland and elector of Saxony. Rostworowski shows that this phase of French policy has been erroneously interpreted among others by P. Boyé, S. Askenazy, Arthur Wilson, Eleanor Puttkamer, and recently by M. Langrod-Vaughan. It is not true, for instance, that in the period France not only did not seek to secure the Polish crown for Maria's father, Stanisław Leszczyński, but actually favored the continuation of the Polish-Saxon connection. Too much importance has been ascribed to the Franco-Saxon negotiations for an alliance. Since Cardinal Fleury was unwilling to pay the large subsidy that Augustus demanded, these negotiations could accomplish nothing. Rostworowski traces in detail how, on the one hand, the French ambassador did his best to keep on friendly terms with Augustus, while, on the other, he blocked surreptitiously almost every move of the Polish king, scheming with all the dissatisfied elements in Poland and spending large sums of money to explode Polish diets one after another. The French also made repeated attempts to win Russia to Stanisław's candidacy, but every time they were unwilling to pay the price demanded by the Russians. The study is well documented. The author has worked his way through an impressive mass of material in the archives of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Its organization is quite satisfactory, but the writing is not distinguished. There is an eighteen-page résumé in French and an exhaustive bibliography.

Harvard Russian Research Center

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

**LATVIJAS VĒSTURE 1800-1914.** By *Arveds Švābe*. (Stockholm: Daugava. 1958. Pp. 752. \$12.50.) The late Professor Arveds Švābe (Schwabe) was a leading Latvian historian and the founder of the Latvian national school of history. He showed a tremendous capacity for work and his output was prodigious, approximately fifty books and close to one thousand articles in Latvian, English, French, German, Russian, Swedish, and Italian. Švābe worked in five different fields: ancient folklore, history of law, agrarian history, and medieval and modern history, with recent emphasis on the last. Before he died last August he managed to publish the first volume of the projected two-volume set of *Latvijas vēsture 1800-1950* (History of Latvia 1800-1950). This volume covers the period from 1800 to 1914 and is the largest and best work ever published on nineteenth-century Latvia. As all parts of that country had already been incorporated in the Russian Empire by 1795, Švābe used the Empire as background for his history. Some readers unfamiliar with Russian history may welcome Švābe's long discussions on political and social developments in Russia, but historians more familiar with Eastern Europe would appreciate greater emphasis upon purely Baltic developments. The social upheaval in the Baltic area, the national awakening of the Latvian nation, the growth of liberalism and socialism in the country, the increasing antagonism between the Latvians and the strongly entrenched but petrified German landed gentry, the desperate fight of the Latvians and Germans against the official policy of Russification sponsored by the imperial government that ended with the abolition of the Baltic autonomy in 1889, the bloody revolution of the Latvians against the Russian officialdom and the German nobles in 1905, and the spectacular development of industry and agriculture are all quite adequately covered. In some of his conclusions, however, the author has been rather ill-tempered. Following the example of many Scandinavian historians who have dealt with the nineteenth century, Švābe too has devoted much space to economic and intellectual development (including the arts and literature). Utilizing his extensive legal training Švābe has made long excursions in order to clarify the origins of certain terms and practices. He has also supplemented his statements with statistical materials and other details. The national development of the Latvians is well presented in both social and cultural aspects, their

struggle for political autonomy and eventual independence is clearly outlined, and the achievements of the German, Russian, and other minorities are honestly noted. There are some errors, however. Austria, for example, did not actually declare war on Russia during the Crimean War and Nargö Island in the Baltic Sea was not occupied by the allied British and French fleets only for a few days in 1854, but for several months in 1854-1855. The errors are minor in comparison with the great value of Švābe's work. More serious is the total lack of footnotes and a general bibliography. It is highly desirable that an edited, abridged version of this work appear in English.

*San Jose State College*

EDGAR ANDERSON

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT, 1883-1936.** By *Joseph Rothschild*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 354. \$7.50.) Professor Rothschild makes his debut with a timely and detailed investigation of highly surreptitious affairs. Considering the difficulties of researching the subject without going to Bulgaria, his is a notable achievement. He has written the first history in any language of Bulgarian Communism from its Social Democratic beginnings to 1936. His is a pioneering work which has the definite merits of collecting for the first time a mass of important information, giving organization and lucidity to diffuse and obscure matters, and bringing to the subject an objectivity which no Communist historian and few native scholars would find possible to maintain. The objectivity maintained throughout, however, has not entailed absence of judgment; quite to the contrary, the author exhibits no timid scholarship and delivers frequent and keenly phrased evaluations of both his subject and matters into which it leads him. Originally presented as a dissertation at Oxford in 1955, the study is based on research done in England, France, and Holland, and it is confined to materials published prior to that year. If Library of Congress materials had been consulted, the author might have found the library's system of transliteration a better way to handle a tough problem and avoid the inconsistencies now marring the book. The work's only objectionable aspects are that it ends in 1936 which is a year of no particular significance, forcing the reader to pause in midmeal as it were, and that the brief chapter "Conclusion" contains no conclusions beyond those already encountered. A more meaningful terminus would have been 1934 or 1939; as to leaving the reader wanting, it can only be hoped that the author or one of his students at Columbia will soon produce an equally good account of the developments since 1936. In any event, the book should be welcomed as a major addition to the meager store of English-language monographs on Bulgarian history.

*San Fernando Valley State College*

MARIN PUNDEFF

**KIEV RUS.** By *B. Grekov*. Translated by *Y. Sdobnikov*. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1959. Pp. 685. 14 Rubles.) Although the work contains neither index, maps, nor bibliography, it seems, on the surface, scholarly. It is when one ceases to be amazed by the copious footnotes, which follow the system of the *University of Chicago Manual of Style*, and examines the book that questions arise. Because Grekov's opinions have no relation to the facts, he is continually forced to quote Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. On page 230 he states that he cannot accept an assumption simply because that "idea is entirely unacceptable from the Marxian viewpoint." On page 150 he clearly indicates his theological approach to scholarship by stating that "new data . . . lead us to assume, in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory . . . that . . ." Dependence upon Marxist generalities leads to sentences such as: "I must admit that we lack data regarding the nature of this [feudal serf] dependence. . . . But there is no doubt that one of these forms of dependence corresponds

to West European serfdom." I must also take exception to Grekov's chauvinism. We are told that "the Slavs were the most numerous peoples in Europe," even though Grekov admits that he cannot estimate their population. As proof he quotes Procopius who says that the Russians were "countless." For nationalistic reasons Grekov maintains that "[between 980 and 1054 Kiev] was the biggest and strongest state in Europe." Because of his chauvinism, Grekov has a running polemic with various Russian authors in which he rejects all ideas of Viking importance. At no time, however, does he come to grips with Vernadsky's opinion. If one may judge from the footnotes and the content of the book, Grekov apparently has no knowledge of Fedotov, Vassiliev, Dvornik, or Vernadsky, or even of Norse sources, for that matter.

*Fairleigh Dickinson University*

J. LEE SHNEIDMAN

RUSSIA AND THE RUMANIAN NATIONAL CAUSE, 1858-1859. By *Barbara Jelavich*. [Slavic and East European Series, Volume XVII.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications. [1959.] Pp. xi, 169. \$4.00.) With much economy and skill Mrs. Jelavich has written an admirable monograph; though limited in scope and time it makes a real contribution to our understanding of Russian foreign policy in the mid-nineteenth century. The unexpected double election in 1859 of Alexander Cuza as hospodar of both Wallachia and Moldavia was the most decisive single step in the creation of a united Rumanian state. That the France of Napoleon III should have supported Rumanian unification is not surprising, but it has always been a question just why, or in what degree, Russia supported the creation of such a state on its southern frontier. In addressing herself to this question Mrs. Jelavich has made use of the private papers and official reports of Nikolai Karlovich Giers, who was Russian consul general in Bucharest from 1858 to 1863. The conclusion that emerges was that Russian policy was in fact divided and ambiguous on this point, that support of Rumanian nationalism was a necessary but not entirely welcome by-product of the Franco-Russian "marriage of convenience" which lasted from the Crimean War until the Polish uprising of 1863. In tracing this theme Mrs. Jelavich also touches on the tangled domestic issues in Rumania during those decisive years and on certain other diplomatic questions, the treatment of the dedicated monasteries and consular jurisdiction in the principalities. The family relationships at this time are not without interest. Giers and his superior, Gorchakov, had connections by marriage with the Sturdzas and Cantacuzinos, though such ties did not lead to any Rumanophilia on the part of these Russian diplomats. Indeed, even at this date the diplomatic tour of duty in Bucharest was regarded as perilous. As Gorchakov wrote to Giers in 1860: "These Danubian Principalities have been at all times, and with deplorable results, a touchstone for the integrity of our employees."

*Columbia University*

HENRY L. ROBERTS

RUSSIA IN THE EAST, 1876-1880: THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR AND THE KULDJA CRISIS AS SEEN THROUGH THE LETTERS OF A. G. JOMINI TO N. K. GIERS. Edited by *Charles and Barbara Jelavich*. [Studies in East European History, Volume VI.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1959. Pp. xi, 173. Glds. 24.) From letters in the possession of Serge Giers, grandson of the Russian Foreign Minister, Charles and Barbara Jelavich have drawn materials for several articles and books which are of great interest to students of Russian policies in the 1880's. The major portion of the work concerns segments of the Balkan crisis which Senior Counselor Jomini reported to Giers while he was in attendance on Chancellor Gorchakov in 1876, during the Russo-Turkish War, and at the Congress of Berlin. These frank personal letters, reproduced in their original French, will not modify our broad understanding of the

events of those years, but they add a color and a detail that must be welcomed. The second theme of the book, Russo-Chinese frontier negotiations culminating in the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881, will provide intriguing materials for those occupied with Russia's eastern expansion and with how that elusive thing known as the Russian government did its intramural business. Three appendixes round up a sprinkling of relevant letters from other authors. The editors have provided brief but expert introductions and useful explanatory notes which Mr. E. J. Brill has done the reader the courtesy to place where they belong—at the bottom of the page.

*Stanford University*

DAVID HARRIS

LENIN AND WORLD REVOLUTION. By *Stanley W. Page*. (New York: New York University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 252. \$5.00.) Scholars attempting to plumb the mysteries of Communist policy have sometimes, after the manner of the Communists themselves, started either with the social setting, which is thought to "determine" the policy, or with the Marxist-Leninist theory, of which the policy is seen as an application. Stanley Page proceeds differently and with greater promise by starting with Lenin's "demon-driven" urge to attain supreme revolutionary leadership. At first, says Page, Lenin's ambition was focused on revolution in Russia, but the dislocations of World War I opened for him the giddy perspective of leadership in an all-European revolution. Revolution in Russia became not only a foothill of the world revolution (which was essentially Trotsky's position) but even more a launching pad for Lenin's domination of that world revolution. The twists and turnings of Lenin's policy during the revolutionary period are therefore seen within the context of his attempted subordination of Russia to Europe and of both to himself. And when Lenin's European hopes proved illusory by 1919-1920, he turned to revolution in the East as a second foothill to world revolution and a second launching pad to world leadership. Lenin was a fanatic in that all his ideas emerged from a mind cast in Marxist symbols. But behind the symbols was the inflated ego which in 1900 convinced him that he alone was capable of leading the proletariat in Russia and in 1915 repeated the performance on a world scale. He had succeeded in identifying the Marxist mission with himself to the point where what was good for Lenin became good for the revolution and hence for mankind. It is this legacy which above all else Lenin bequeathed to his successors and which Page has with considerable success brought down to earth stripped free of its pseudoscientific camouflage.

*George Washington University*

RONALD THOMPSON

SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE BALTIC STATES, 1918-1940. By *Albert N. Tarulis*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 276. \$5.50.) From dedication to final paragraph, Dr. Tarulis' book clearly supports the *émigré* spokesmen of Latvia, Estonia, and of his native Lithuania in their efforts to regain independence for their homelands. The author offers a careful and well-expressed account of the Baltic States' legal charges against their powerful eastern neighbor. The presentation encompasses not only a description of Soviet policy but depicts the diplomacy of the independent Baltic States in regard to the Bolshevik bastion. The book's conclusions are not new and not generally questioned by Western scholars. The Soviet Union's incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the USSR in August 1940 violated treaties the Soviet Union had voluntarily concluded, jarred with principles it had affirmed when condemning Hitler's annexation of Austria, and conflicted with international law. In short, the incorporation was and is illegal. It may be noted that Tarulis in no way indicates that the authoritarian governments of the independent Baltic States, too, had been violating important democratic and constitutional prin-



ciples. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the work impresses me as the most complete, scholarly, and temperate account of the Baltic States' case against the USSR. The study traces early Soviet policy toward the Baltic States in more detail than most other works. The two introductory chapters on Bolshevik theoretical and practical views on national self-determination are among the best in the book and will prove interesting to general students of Soviet policy. A weakness of the work is that in most chapters it limits itself almost entirely to the strictly diplomatic and legal aspects of Baltic-Soviet relations. The personal and political factors that shaped these relations receive minor, sometimes totally inadequate treatment. The reader is told nothing about the personal and political background of Professor V. Kreve who served in the posts of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the June 1940 puppet government of Lithuania despite the fact that his name repeatedly appears in the author's description of that government's policies and actions. Tarulis' contribution to the literature on Soviet policy in the Baltic States during the independence period is, nevertheless, significant.

*Hollins College*

WALTER S. HANCHETT

#### NEAR EAST

LEBANON IN THE LAST YEARS OF FEUDALISM, 1840-1868: A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT AND OTHER DOCUMENTS. By *Anṭūn Ḍāḥir al-'Aqīqī*. Translated with notes and commentary by *Malcolm H. Kerr*. [American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, Number 33.] (Beirut: [the University.] 1959. Pp. xiii, 159.) In 1860 an international force, primarily French in composition, intervened in the Lebanon in the aftermath of fighting between Druzes and Maronites, which had produced widespread massacres of Christians by Moslems. The communal warfare had been sparked by a "peasants' movement" which aimed at ending the system of feudalism, or, to be more precise, the system whereby the chief landowner of a district, as Ottoman tax farmer, exercised wide administrative, police, and judicial powers. This movement had begun in the purely Maronite district of Kisrawan where, in 1859, the villagers expelled certain members of the aristocratic Khazin family. Kerr has translated portions of a Lebanese chronicle that pertains to the affair and the contemporary letters from the archives of the Maronite patriarchal residence that were published with the Arabic text by its editor, Youssof Ibrahim Yazbec. He has also provided an introduction and notes which utilize other Arabic accounts, unpublished British consular documents, and published diplomatic papers and memoirs. Although some important points remain obscure, a general picture can be drawn of a web of conflict that comprised rival factions of Maronite aristocrats, the Maronite clergy, the Turkish authorities, and British and French agents. Kerr has illuminated an important subject.

*University of Illinois*

C. ERNEST DAWN

TURKEY: ORIGINS OF THE KEMALIST MOVEMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1919-1923). By *Elaine Diana Smith*. (Washington, D. C.: the Author. 1959. Pp. xi, 175. \$3.00.) This study of the Kemalist movement is a most useful contribution to the existing accounts in English of the historical events that resulted in the creation of the Turkish Republic. The author has made extensive use of Turkish sources and has employed them in ways that give her readers an understanding of the opinions and judgments of Turkish political and intellectual leaders. The opening chapter presents a highly condensed, tightly written account of the history of the Ottoman Empire from 1299 to 1922. Its copious



footnotes provide an adequate bibliography for readers who are unfamiliar with Ottoman history. The struggle of the Nationalists to organize their movement and to establish the government of the Grand National Assembly is traced in some detail with emphasis largely political rather than military. The following two chapters deal with the conflict of ideas concerning the nature of the government, its orientation with respect to the "West" and the "East," and the evolution of political parties. Mustafa Kemal's rise to political leadership and his handling of domestic and foreign affairs are discussed at length in three chapters. In a brief final chapter the author presents her conclusions, which are interesting but not particularly significant. There are twenty-five pages of bibliographical materials, sixteen of which, devoted to Turkish sources, enhance the usefulness of this volume. The non-Turkish bibliographical materials are largely limited to standard works in English; there is only slight reference to those in French, German, Italian, and Russian. Ten appendixes include a chronology, some basic documents, biographical sketches of important Turkish personages, and a glossary of Turkish terms. All of these are most useful and welcome. One regrets the absence of an index, which is almost essential for the most effective use of a book such as this. The work is, however, almost indispensable for a study of this period of Turkish history.

Boston University

WILLIAM YALE

#### FAR EAST

**JAPANESE BUDDHISM.** By *Sir Charles Eliot*. With a memoir of the author by *Sir Harold Parlett*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1959. Pp. xxxiv, 449. \$7.00.) *Japanese Buddhism* is a reprint of the volume that appeared by the same author in 1935 and that for at least one generation of students of Japan has been a useful and reliable general text on Buddhism and its evolution across Asia. Despite its restrictive title, the book provides a survey of Buddhism in India and China plus a history of Japanese Buddhism and the sects and their doctrines. This new edition is welcome since the 1935 one is hard to come by and, being out of print, expensive. Because the 1959 edition is simply a reprint, it reflects the scholarly views of a quarter century ago. No word of caution has been added to the preface and unenlightened readers may be inclined to assume that the work reflects the present state of knowledge concerning Buddhism. Such is emphatically not the case, for Buddhist studies have advanced considerably since 1935, and although it is worth while to have Eliot's book made available again, it does tend to show its age. The chapter on Buddhism in India should be used with other sources, for example, Louis Renou's *L'Inde classique* and, of course, Étienne Lamotte's impressive *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*. The chapter on Chinese Buddhism may be supplemented with such works as Arthur Wright's *Buddhism in Chinese History* and E. Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, while both Chinese and Japanese iconography are far out of date without Alexander Soper's *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*. Such recent works as Heinrich Dumoulin's *Zen, Geschichte und Gestalt* and Gaston Renondeau's *La Doctrine de Nichiren* have added much to our knowledge about at least two areas in Buddhist development. Upon close inspection of the volume, one finds a number of aspects that leave something to be desired, from incomplete references (there is no bibliography) to an indiscriminate use of Pāli and Sanskrit marred by numerous mistakes in diacritical marks (e.g., "s" or "sh" represent without system the dental, palatal, and retroflex ["s," "ś," "ṣ"]). Many of Eliot's attitudes ("I confess that I find all this phase of decadent Buddhism, which is sometimes called Mantrayāna or Vajrayāna, most distasteful and uninteresting") will seem to present-day scholars curiously dated. Despite the above remarks, *Japanese Bud-*

*dhism* is still a basic text. If used in conjunction with some of the works mentioned above, and others, it will provide a reliable and lucid account of Japanese Buddhism and its continental origins.

*University of Pennsylvania*

E. DALE SAUNDERS

THE FOUNDING OF THE KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE, 1180-1185, WITH SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM THE *AZUMA KAGAMI*. By Minoru Shinoda. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 57.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 385. \$7.50.) In this detailed and well-written study of the five-year period 1180-1185 which constitutes the crucial, formative stage of Japan's feudal system, Professor Minoru Shinoda comes forth with an "explanation and clarification of the aims of the founders themselves and the circumstances surrounding the founding of the Kamakura Shogunate." This is the first work in a Western language to make thorough use of the *Azuma Kagami*, the semiofficial history of the Kamakura shogunate. The book is divided into two parts: 144 pages of textual matter and 215 pages of translation of the five chapters from the *Azuma Kagami*. The author's aim to introduce the Western student of Japanese civilization to a little-known period of its history as well as to an important historical work is ably fulfilled. In chronological order, Shinoda covers the ground thoroughly, presenting a clear picture of the military and political developments that led inexorably to the formalization of the feudal system with Yoritomo as the first shogun. He stresses the fact that the many administrative and political problems raised by the Gempei War had to be met and solved, and the shogunate as an institution grew out of this very process. The founding of the shogunate was thus "gradual and evolutionary, involving a series of wars and events extending over a period of years." The author helps to correct an oversimplified picture of the Gempei period. This he does by pointing out, for instance, the fact that the lines were not always clearly or simply drawn in the contest for supremacy waged between the Minamoto and the Taira and that even the Genji was "a heterogeneous collection of people and groups." The characterization of the Kamakura shogunate as a "private clan government based on vassalage but also empowered with certain public functions" is especially apt. Shinoda goes into Yoritomo's character, his relationship with his half brother Yoshitsune, and his dual background which made it possible for a dual system of government to exist and function. It was natural that as a Kyoto-bred warrior with the cultural values of the courtier, Yoritomo was more at home with and preferred the company of the courtier over that of the provincial or rustic warrior and that he should have sought the services of advisers and administrators from Kyoto. Western scholars who have felt the need for a book on one of the most intriguing but slighted aspects of Japanese history now have a valuable work at their command. It is hoped that this will mark the beginning of a heightened interest and effort in the study of Japan's feudal history.

*Yale University*

CHITOSHI YANAGA

SOVIET RUSSIA AND INDIAN COMMUNISM, 1917-1947, WITH AN EPILOGUE COVERING THE SITUATION TODAY. By David N. Druhe. (New York: Bookman Associates. c. 1959. Pp. 429. \$8.50.) A noteworthy feature of the social sciences in America during the past decade has been their expansion into the relatively neglected areas of Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. India in particular has been the subject of extensive research activity. In the field of politics a number of outstanding studies have been published, and David N. Druhe's volume is an important contribution to the history of Communism in India. Concentrating on the period from the Bolshevik Revolution to the attainment of independence thirty years later the

study traces the complex maneuvers and continually changing party line of the Indian Communist party (CPI). Perhaps the most interesting section describes the Russian design for the "liberation" of India in 1921. This involved the cloak-and-dagger activities of the Indian Communist agent M. N. Roy, the dispatch of supplies of arms to Tashkent, and the establishment of a military academy to train Indian freedom fighters. This grandiose plot failed and the narrative continues with a detailed history of the establishment of the CPI, its rather futile activities from 1924 to 1939, and its role during the Second World War. After 1945 the CPI paid dearly for its desertion of the nationalist cause and its support of the British war effort. The study concludes with a brief account of the party after independence. This volume is almost exclusively a historical narrative. Events are accurately placed in their chronological framework and extensive research has been utilized in piecing the story together, as some sixty-five pages of notes and an extensive bibliography testify. While valuable, however, for a surface account, no attempt is made to relate Communist activities to the facts of Indian life, either in the economic or in the political field. The reader from time to time misses a cogent evaluation, a rounded-out generalization, a commentary on the flow of events. He can, however, by profiting from the author's rich foundation of facts, arrive at some basic conclusions: the Soviet government has been continually preoccupied with the ultimate goal of establishing an Indian Soviet republic; the history of the CPI has been one of amazing shifts and tacks in its ideological line; Indian Communism, despite its Herculean efforts, has made remarkably little progress; the CPI has throughout its career been the agent and tool of its masters in Moscow; a study of Indian Communism reveals clearly the nature of Communist tactics—the use of terror when it offers some chance of success, lip service to constitutional methods when these seem appropriate, and, above all, the absence of any basic principles. The ultimate goal of the CPI has been an Indian Soviet republic and, even in this end that justifies all manner of means, there is a hidden joker, the inclusion of "Indian" as mere window dressing.

*University of Southern California*

T. WALTER WALLBANK

THE PURGE OF JAPANESE LEADERS UNDER THE OCCUPATION. By Hans H. Baerwald. [University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume VIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. 111. \$2.25.) A language officer attached to the Public Service Qualifications ("Purge") Division of SCAP's Government Section, First Lieutenant Hans Baerwald helped to carry out the Potsdam Declaration's surrender terms for elimination "for all time" of the authority and influence of those who had deceived and misled the Japanese people and for removing obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies. He spent eighteen months in Japan in 1954 and 1955 on a Ford Foundation fellowship, gaining wider perspective on the administration and results of the purge. Now he has written authentically and well the story of the occupation program for transforming Japan's political leadership, relying heavily on Government Section's two-volume *Political Reorientation of Japan* prepared in 1948. The primary objective of removing militarists and ultranationalists (170,473 or 81.2 per cent of all those purged) from positions of influence—not "forever" but for five years—was, the author believes, satisfactorily achieved. On the other hand, the secondary objective of ousting antidemocratic elements from the bureaucracy, political parties, business, and information media was less successfully accomplished. The trouble lay in the criteria established for this purpose. Although several thousand national and local leaders in these fields were displaced, there was no way to prove that they harbored antidemocratic sentiments or that their replacements were any more receptive to the fundamental precepts of Western democracy. The diffi-

culties involved were dramatized by the Hatoyama, Hirano, and Matsumoto cases and, upon intensification of the cold war, by the use of SCAP directives, originally intended to neutralize reactionary elements, to purge Japanese Communist leaders.

*Washington, D. C.*

JUSTIN WILLIAMS

#### UNITED STATES

**AMERICAN FOLKLORE.** By *Richard M. Dorson*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 328. \$4.50.) The historian is shy about the study of folklore, yet the subject constitutes a solid foundation in the comprehension of social customs and mores. Folklore like much local history writing has too often been presented by insufficiently trained scholars to give it full meaning and proper dignity. Many historians have regarded folklore either as whimsical or insufficiently factual to make it a dependable source of understanding. Despite these facts the American people have generated about as much folklore as is to be found in any civilized nation. Richard M. Dorson has produced in this rather brief volume a highly competent synthesis of American folk culture from colonial times to this age of radio and television. He has treated his subject as regional, personal, and racial in nature. In no field have we created a more attractive folk personality than in that of humor. American humor has run a rather extensive scale from the telling of tall tales of personal prowess, of the appearance of strange animals, of natural wonders, and of the natural "greenness" of much of the population. The wry humor of the Yankee, his shrewd trader antics, and his provincialism branded a whole section. This might even have shaped an image of human relationships in the trying years just prior to 1861. While the Yankee was making himself into a national character, frontiersmen were generating stories as tall as the trees they cut down to build their cabins. Southerners on the other hand gave a folksy turn to American humor. Much of their material found its way into books and filled the columns of Porter's *Spirit of the Times*. Many a newspaper column was heavily larded with the whimsicalities of the moment. In two important ways the stream of American folklore was strengthened by the rise of the Negro and the coming of large numbers of immigrants during the nineteenth century. The constantly changing patterns of American economic life and the quickening of communication also expanded the fabric of American folklore. Dorson has recorded a rich review of the American personality trait that gives deep emotional meaning to the substance and foundation of objective history. This is a history of the commonplaces of a people who have more often than not taken comfort in the personal aspects of their history.

*University of Kentucky*

THOMAS D. CLARK

**THE GREAT FARM PROBLEM.** By *William H. Peterson*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1959. Pp. xix, 235. \$5.00.) The author of this volume asserts at the outset that the farm problem is the result of government intervention and that "Were there no intervention, there would be no farm problem." The farm problem was created by politicians and it "lies in the politics enmeshing the farmer, his prices, his surpluses. These surpluses include not only wheat, corn, powdered milk, cheese, tung oil, cotton, and more than twenty other commodities, but—farmers." More than half the book is devoted to a historical survey of United States agriculture from colonial times to the present, and about one-third to an analysis of the present situation. In view of the opening declarations it is not surprising that Peterson concludes that the only proper solution of the farm problem lies in the withdrawal of "all price supports,

commodity loans, conservation payments, acreage allocations, marketing controls, price fixing, cheap credit, tax concessions, crop insurance, and all other government dictates and subsidies, open and hidden, to farmers. The U.S.D.A. should be an advisory agency, not a price or income arbitrator." Industry should be treated likewise. This book offers some stoutly held opinions and some vigorous writing, but it contributes little to a better understanding of the subject.

*University of Wisconsin*

VERNON CARSTENSEN

THE INVISIBLE PRESIDENCY. By *Louis W. Koenig*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. c. 1960. Pp. viii, 438. \$6.95.) Here is virtually a case study of the "Shadows," that is, the informal assistants of half a dozen Presidents, a peering into their not-so-public official life. We see Hamilton overshadowing Washington so much that the President takes on some of the separateness of a titular monarch. Professor Koenig loses control of himself in his ecstasy over Hamilton in contrast with Jefferson, who is represented as taking on the "distant majesty of a misplaced gargoyle." Hamilton's indispensable aid to his chief, however, is presented with clarity and accuracy. One wonders how President Jackson could have got along without his faithful confidant Martin Van Buren as his Secretary of State and later Vice-President. A man who could faithfully serve both his party and his chief while paving his own road to the White House, his inexhaustible fertility of political expedients earned him the title of "The Little Magician." Immediately after his inauguration Governor Theodore Roosevelt discovered and employed an extraordinary stenographer, William Loeb, Jr., whom he took to Washington when he became Vice-President and whom he retained when he became President upon McKinley's death. In the White House Loeb was soon the handy man maintaining smooth relations between the chief executive and his subordinates and promoting administration measures through Congress. Loeb was Roosevelt's preconvention mobilizer of delegates for the 1904 nomination. Colonel E. M. House, President Wilson's "alter ego," was reputed to have "almost prevented the World War." By sly flattery House cast such a spell over the President that he unashamedly made repeated trips to House's New York residence seeking advice. The "Fourteen Points" are said to have been virtually House's. It is curious to find among the aids of President Franklin Roosevelt an avowed disciple of Machiavelli in the person of Thomas Corcoran. He had been a clerk of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and was probably the best of Roosevelt's speech writers. "His was a soul that flamed out of a frail and fading body" was Churchill's judgment of Harry Hopkins, the ablest of Roosevelt's aids. Hopkins persistently prodded his procrastinating chief to action, and so dependent was Roosevelt on him that the invalid spent three and a half years in the White House most of the time in bed, the Lincoln bed. At times Hopkins would arouse himself from what looked like his death bed to perform spasms of public service. It was President Eisenhower's aversion to details that led eventually to the Sherman Adams debacle. After the President's illness Adams set out to shield him, but overdid it, as revealed by the chief executive's cry of "Why didn't somebody tell me about this?" when confronted with a perplexing question at a news conference. The President's pathetic plea, "I need him," concerning Adams when he was discredited by the Goldfine affair shows the extent of the assistant's assumption of charge of the administration. Adams is the only one of the aids to make an unhappy exit. Koenig has done a prodigious amount of reading of published and manuscript material, supplemented by half a hundred interviews. The matter is well organized and presented in a way that sometimes attains the sprightliness of the journalist. Scholars will be baffled by the absence of citations leaving them sometimes wishing they knew



where an astonishing revelation can be verified, but unquestionably this book adds to the growing bibliography on the greatest office in the world.

Ohio Northern University

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

COURT RECORDS OF KENT COUNTY, DELAWARE, 1680-1705. Edited by Leon deValinger, Jr. With a prefatory note by John Biggs, Jr. [American Legal Records, Volume VIII.] (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association. 1959. Pp. xxii, 382. \$10.00.) Kent was the last of the three Delaware counties to be established. The other two, New Castle and Sussex, had their beginnings during Dutch rule, and their earliest records, if indeed they were systematically kept, have survived only in fragments. Kent County, however, was organized under the rule of the duke of York, and the minutes printed in this volume start with the establishment of the court and extend without a break to the point where, the editor states, they become more formalized and hence less interesting to the historian. Court records of this detailed kind are usually of great value to students of economic, social, and institutional history, and these of Kent are no exception to the rule. In them will be found more about the settlers of Kent County, 1680-1705, their daily lives, their business affairs, their conduct and misconduct, the way they governed themselves, and even, on some matters, their thoughts and feelings, than is recorded in any other book. (See, for instance, page three, where Robberd Willin is quoted as "Saying that hee did wonder that the Duke of Yorke was such a fooll as to make such Inconsiderable Sons of whores to be Justices.") As with the previous volumes in the Littleton-Griswold series, in this one the text of the minutes is reproduced as nearly *verbatim et literatim* as is practicable on the printed page. The editor, who is State Archivist of Delaware, has provided a historical introduction, an index of proper names, and a table of cases.

University of Delaware

H. CLAY REED

MASSACHUSETTS SHIPPING 1697-1714: A STATISTICAL STUDY. By Bernard and Lotte Bailyn. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 148. \$5.00.) For many years the maritime papers in the Massachusetts Archives have been a fruitful source of information on the mercantile side of American life in colonial times, although the sheer bulk of detailed items has discouraged any but the most limited and special use of the papers. Now, with the aid of an IBM computer, Bernard and Lotte Bailyn have compiled the first comprehensive and trustworthy tabulation of data from one of the more important segments of these records—the Boston shipping register for the years 1697-1714. The volume in which they set forth their findings is a felicitous union of sound scholarship and modern technology. The statistical portion of their book comprises thirty-three tables, nine relating to the size and composition of the Massachusetts merchant fleet, ten to its ownership, and fourteen to its construction. Almost any possible correlation of vessel to size, type, owner, place of construction, and home port is provided for. The figures derive from the 1,621 vessels registered at Boston during the period and are considered by the Bailyns to be definitive for 1,284 of these vessels whose home port was in Massachusetts. To what extent were the vessels owned by single individuals? Exactly how many did New England build for the British market? How greatly did Boston dominate the maritime scene? The application of the statistical data to these and a variety of similar questions is demonstrated in an introduction that is a masterpiece of deft analysis, and which leads Mr. Bailyn to speculate upon some of the broader social implications of the statistics. An interesting description of the problems and procedures of machine tabulation completes the volume. Although colonial historians may not find it necessary to rewrite their books as a result of the Bailyns' research, they will certainly have to revise



some of their statistics, and they will be able to proceed with the assurance that within a particular area the course of maritime activity can now be precisely charted.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

BYRON FAIRCHILD

THE RUDOLPH MATAS HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN LOUISIANA. Volume I. Edited by *John Duffy*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Rudolph Matas Trust Fund. 1958. Pp. xvi, 522. \$10.00.) As the title implies, the original collection of materials and the initiative in planning this study were undertaken by the distinguished New Orleans surgeon Rudolph Matas. But Dr. Duffy, as "editor," has evidently done much original work in selecting from and organizing the extensive Matas materials and adding others of his own. The result is a comprehensive and well-documented narrative. The present volume does not ignore the interior settlements but naturally centers attention on New Orleans. It covers the period from the first settlement in 1699 to about 1825 and is divided into sections dealing, respectively, with the French, Spanish, and American periods in the government of Louisiana. Within each of these eras, the disease patterns, medical personnel and institutions, professional regulations, medical practice, care of the sick poor, and public health conditions are presented in turn. Duffy brings out interesting contrasts in medical matters between Latin Louisiana and the English colonies. The French government, for example, directly supported small-scale hospital facilities and medical personnel, and the Spanish authorities maintained relatively strict medical police regulations at times when no such paternalism was practiced along the Atlantic seaboard. When Americans poured into Louisiana after 1803, there were also contrasts in medical practice, between the continued, mild therapy of the Creoles and the heroic remedies that the newcomers brought with them. Tension over this and other matters long separated the French and English-speaking practitioners in the state. There were also, of course, similarities in French and English colonial experience, as in epidemic diseases, in types of medical practitioners, and in the lax enforcement of such health regulations as were attempted. On the last point, however, there is some confusion. It is stated, for example, that Spanish Louisiana was not lax like the English colonies in allowing anyone to practice medicine, but elsewhere it is said that "almost anyone" in the former area could set himself up in practice. As in many other studies, distinctions between the several medical guilds are not always made clear; the terms "doctors," "surgeons," and "physicians" seem at times to be used interchangeably. In the development of hospitals, medical societies, medical education, and public health controls, New Orleans fell behind Philadelphia after 1750, and behind other seaboard cities after about 1800. The New Orleans disease and death rates became relatively high, though they were sometimes exaggerated. The city was not as large as the others and, in addition, had to contend with peculiar geographic and cultural difficulties. These circumstances add interest to the present study. At certain points the narrative seems unnecessarily detailed, as in the successive accounts of very similar epidemics, but at others the details bring out valuable pictures, as in the analysis of the complex evolution of the Charity Hospital. The work as a whole is so complete as to set a standard for state medical histories. Matas, one likes to think, would have seen in it the fulfillment of his plans.

*American Philosophical Society*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT: THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN ROBERT CHOLMLEY'S BATMAN. THE JOURNAL OF A BRITISH OFFICER. HALKETT'S ORDERLY BOOK. Edited from the original manuscripts with an introduction and notes by *Charles Hamilton*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. xxi, 134. \$3.95.) It is a pity that the University of Oklahoma Press should have brought out with

such fanfare this modest contribution to our knowledge of what happened at the Monongahela on July 9, 1755. Here are two more eyewitness accounts of the battle. Such accounts now number eleven instead of nine. The blurbs on the jacket and in the introduction suggest that something much more important had been discovered. The first of the new witnesses was a servant to a captain in the Forty-eighth Regiment, Robert Chalmley, who was killed during the action. We have not had before an account by anyone who mixed with the common soldiers. This servant was of top quality, literate, writing a good hand, yet reflecting the feeling of the men in the ranks and without knowledge or understanding of the decisions made by the high command. What he adds to our information about the arduous passage from Wills Creek over the mountains is that, first, many men deserted and that, second, they were constantly in fear of Indian attacks. From May 13 to July 7 fifteen of the entries mention Indians: "We expect the French Indians to attack us every day." On the day of the battle, July 9, he speaks of the lack of provisions, which no other witness has mentioned. "Where there was one that had anything to Eat," he says, "there was twenty that had nothing." This servant was in the vanguard. He says that the guides, who first spotted the Indians, were ten yards before him and that the French Indians immediately spread out into a half-moon. Two-thirds of the advance guard, he notes, were killed before the main body came up. And then he says, "they continuously made us retreat." This testimony bears out that of others, that the vanguard fell back. He gives us no information about the condition of the main body when the vanguard recoiled upon it. The second account is by an unknown officer who was with the main body of Braddock's army. His account was written sometime after the battle and reflects the arguments that went on at Dunbar's camp. He has two things of importance to say, and both have been said before: that the advance guard marched only a few yards in front of the main body, that a proposal to strengthen the flanks was unhappily rejected. Both of these documents support the interpretation of the battle put forward in an article in the *American Historical Review* in 1936 with which the editor of this book was unfamiliar. The third original source, *Halkett's Orderly Book*, has already been printed in its essentials to June 17. The orders from June 18 to July 8, not before available in print, show an alert army, up to the day of battle. They do not include the orders to the flankers, who, combing the ridges, effectually prevented Indian attacks until the fatal day. Such is the contribution of these new materials. The editor's remarks upon them add little or nothing.

*Newberry Library*

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JAMES MONROE. Edited and with an introduction by *Stuart Gerry Brown*. With the assistance of *Donald G. Baker*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. c. 1959. Pp. xi, 236. \$6.00.) The political popularity of James Monroe, in 1820, is frequently used as both symbol and index of the Era of Good Feelings. A mere listing of his public services—governor, senator, minister, cabinet officer, and President—is remarkable. Yet, Monroe belongs to a minor constellation. In part he suffers by comparison with other Virginians of the early national period. Lacking the prestige of Washington, the lucidity of Marshall, the eccentric brilliance of John Randolph, Jr., the tight logic of John Taylor, without Jefferson's vision, Henry's persuasive oratorical powers, Madison's native ability, or Wythe's legal mastery, Monroe is shaded by this extraordinary array of talent. His autobiography, written in the late 1820's and now published for the first time, would appear to confirm this historical judgment. It is one of the dulllest and least quotable of reminiscences. Monroe seems to have inherited the anti-Federalist biases without the refreshing and leavening

candor one finds in the reflections of other leading Republicans. For example, of the period 1783-1789, Monroe writes: "There was no privileged order in any of the states and never had been." George Washington, he insists, enjoyed "to the end of his services and of his life the undiminished confidence of his country." Did he really believe this? Indeed, much of Monroe's career reveals an unhappy mixture of ambition and ambivalence, resolution and irresolution. Professor Brown remarks upon Monroe's indecisiveness on the question of ratifying the Constitution: "However the struggle might turn out, Monroe would not be attainted in the eyes of either side." A fourth of the work sketches his ancestry, education, service in the revolutionary war, and early career as lawyer and legislator. The remainder deals with his diplomatic activities in 1794-1796 and 1803-1805. Both were difficult assignments, and these sections amount to a vindication of Monroe's behavior. As suggested in the editor's excellent footnotes, however, there are numerous inconsistencies, interesting lapses of memory, curious omissions, and more mellow judgments than Monroe's earlier writings indicated.

*Montana State University*

MORTON BORDEN

CHARLESTON'S SONS OF LIBERTY: A STUDY OF THE ARTISANS, 1763-1789. By *Richard Walsh*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. xii, 166. \$4.25.) In the agrarian society of early South Carolina, the "mechanics" (Mr. Walsh uses the word loosely) were a useful but minor element. They worked diligently and save their shillings in the hope of moving upward into the planter or merchant class which constituted the local power elite. But for a brief period, the mechanics themselves became an important force, and the recounting of their story is the concern of this sound and well-documented monograph. It is not surprising that the story has not been adequately told before, for although they played a significant role during the years 1763 to 1789, the mechanics were hardly an engaging lot. Somehow they seem more patently self-seeking, less able to cloak their actions with noble sentiments than other patriots. At their best, they appear opportunistic, arrangers of temporary alliances with planters, merchants, or rising young lawyers as their special interests in paper currency, the slave trade, tariff, or subsidies for domestic manufacturing dictated. At their worst, they were the mob, quick to use the tar bucket and to shout down such of their own leaders as Christopher Gadsden, who called for patience and simple justice. There lingers the impression that relatively few mechanics enlisted in military units. Rather, they purveyed goods and services. Their suffering for the revolutionary cause was real enough, however. They were imprisoned and exiled and deprived of their profits. But even if the motives of the mechanics leave something to be desired, their contribution, particularly in the areas of economics and politics, was considerable. Their opposition to mercantilism, translated into "encouragement to American manufacturers," enhanced the general economy and supported the military apparatus. Walsh believes that mercantilism was more important "as a cause of revolution in the South" than is generally recognized. Politically the mechanics were a democratizing influence. In colonial South Carolina they could vote if they paid their taxes, but they rarely held office. In revolutionary South Carolina, they held offices of significance and their words were attended with care by the legislature and the judiciary. After the Revolution they saw to it that they retained these gains, to the extent of rousing the mob when necessary. Walsh suggests that the decline of the mechanics after 1789 occurred because the most capable of them attained their personal goal—acceptance into the planter class. Here at last was the status they had so long sought. Besides, the future for cotton looked very promising indeed.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HENNIG COHEN

THE JOHN GRAY BLOUNT PAPERS. Volume II, 1790-1795. Edited by *Alice Barnwell Keith*. [Publications of the State Department of Archives and History.] (Raleigh, N. C.: the Department. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 689. \$3.00.) This second volume from the large and important collection of *John Gray Blount Papers* in the North Carolina Archives is a valuable addition to published source material on the early national period, offering those fresh insights of lesser men's papers generally available only in manuscript. John Gray Blount was a prosperous Washington, North Carolina, merchant, influential in the state's politics and actively engaged in domestic business and international trade. Better known nationally were his brothers, William and Thomas, whose letters form a substantial part of the volume. William, appointed territorial governor of Tennessee in 1790, was busily engaged in land speculations and grandiose schemes that were to culminate in his expulsion from the United States Senate in 1797. Thomas, elected from North Carolina, took his seat in Congress in 1793 and was to remain there until his death in 1812. Most of the letters are addressed to John Gray Blount or to the firm of John Gray and Thomas Blount. John Gray Blount seldom kept copies of his own correspondence and unfortunately few of his letters have survived to complete the record that his files present. The papers contain important material relating both to the economic and the political history of the period and to the interrelation between them, well demonstrated by these businessmen-politicians. Numerous papers relate to speculation in land and in state and federal securities. The volume contains a well-documented case study of the activities of North Carolina Congressman Hugh Williamson in regard to government securities at the time when the funding and assumption bills were before Congress. Williamson, who was involved also in the Blounts's land speculation, not only sent them confidential advice but unloaded securities for them in New York. Of special interest also are letters relating to the effects of the war in Europe on trade in 1793. This extensive publication from a rich collection, providing much new material for easy exploration, should be widely used.

*University of Richmond*

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

AN ERRAND OF MERCY: THE EVANGELICAL UNITED FRONT 1790-1837. By *Charles I. Foster*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1960. Pp. x, 320. \$6.50.) This monograph provides the best available account of the operations of such organizations as the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Sunday School Union in the early national period. It places these groups in the context not only of American but also of British history. Almost one-third of the book deals with the origins of interdenominational evangelical enterprises in England, where they are seen as largely a product of conservative reaction to the religious and political radicalism associated with the French Revolution. The "errand of mercy," Professor Foster argues, was not one of unadulterated benevolence; it was a matter of cultivating conformity to the existing social order. The pattern for the American "united front" was set in 1804 by the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which encouraged the formation of its American counterpart in 1816. The Sunday school movement, however, took a distinctive course in this country, and the temperance movement was uniquely American. The connection between such societies and other social trends is explored. The author points out that the tract societies pioneered in mass production for a national market; they also made the national convention an American institution. The missionary and education societies provided an outlet for women and thus set a precedent for feminism. The interdenominational missionary programs in the West, the South, and the cities as well as overseas are analyzed in terms of their general structure and function. The last two chapters re-

count the disintegration of the evangelical united front under the pressure of increasing sectarian power. The entire story is told with liveliness and humor, and the author's interpretations are enriched with maturity of insight regarding human nature and institutions. The footnotes refer almost exclusively to primary sources; several important secondary works seem to be missing from the otherwise impressive bibliography.

*Pennsylvania State University*

IRA V. BROWN

AMERICAN BUILDING ART: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Carl W. Condit*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 371. \$12.50.) All of the fine arts are affected to some extent by materials and techniques present in their period, but none so much as architecture, in which the utilitarian function necessarily conditions its aesthetic possibilities. In this book Professor Condit is concerned not with the history of architecture as such, but with the history of structural forms and building techniques available to the architect in nineteenth-century America. With detailed descriptions of the histories of technical processes and their users he has written what is both a pioneer and a definitive study. An abundance of pictorial and analytical illustrations helps to delineate the development of framing, bridge trusses in wood and iron, arch and suspension bridges, railway train sheds, and concrete construction. The structural needs of an industrialized society offered the nineteenth-century builder revolutionary challenges. He was faced by conditions never met by his predecessors, such as restricted horizontal space in the city and the increasingly heavy and moving weights to be carried by bridges and factories. On the whole, basic structural forms that antedated the nineteenth century were empirically adapted to the great variety of new materials and processes discovered and invented in that century. By the end of the century an evolutionary process had produced revolutionary results in steel and concrete. In his discussion of the interrelationships among technical processes and their relations to the economic needs of society Condit explores the nature of invention itself. He indicates that invention was not the simple result of economic necessity, but was a frequent product of accidental combinations of new processes and materials, or resulted from creative ingenuity exercised in the service of the individual's pursuit of wealth. Indeed he believes that the great achievement of the century was "the invention of the method of invention." Condit documents the empirical approach of the American to building problems of which Tocqueville was so conscious. "In the United States the criteria of adequate construction were always pragmatic, seldom either scientific or aesthetic: the minimum of material consistent with safety; the most rapid and efficient means of construction; design for expansion and relocation rather than permanence." American practicality virtually scorned theory, often with disastrous results, as in the collapse of buildings and bridges. In engineering the American considered himself thoroughly independent; he refused to recognize his dependence on the development of scientific theory in Europe. Only in the last quarter of the century were theory and practice finally amalgamated. The final chapter considers the relationship of architecture as aesthetics and as construction, as art and as science. Condit believes nineteenth-century eclecticism to be in part a product of a technical development so all absorbing that the builder was forced to turn to the past for aesthetic invention. He portrays the triumph of functionalism as the victory of the engineer: "The engineers of the past century did their work only too well. When they were finally asked to serve the architect they found that he wanted chiefly to make a public memorial to what they had done." One could wish that the imaginative interpretations of this last tightly packed chapter were joined with the meticulously detailed and amply documented descriptions in the body of the book. It is, however, a solid



work of creative scholarship fundamental to an understanding of nineteenth-century American architecture.

*Vassar College*

RUTH MILLER ELSON

THE McLOUGHLIN EMPIRE AND ITS RULERS: DOCTOR JOHN McLOUGHLIN, DOCTOR DAVID McLOUGHLIN, MARIE LOUISE (SISTER ST. HENRY). AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PERSONAL LIVES, AND OF THEIR PARENTS, RELATIVES AND CHILDREN; IN CANADA'S QUEBEC PROVINCE, IN PARIS, FRANCE, AND IN THE WEST OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. By *Burt Brown Barker*. [Northwest Historical Series, Volume V.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1959. Pp. 370. \$12.50.) Though the title of this book would lead one to expect much information about the "empire," actually it deals almost exclusively with the "rulers." On them it gives considerable data, some of it new if not startling. It would seem that now we have the full story of Dr. John McLoughlin and his family in Canada, the Grand Portage-Fort William fur trading area, Old Oregon, London, and Paris. Of course certain chapters of McLoughlin's life are still meagerly represented, especially the years from 1803 to 1824. Oddly, the author makes no reference to the one document, and that a long and full one, which McLoughlin himself wrote describing the entire triangle known today as the Arrowhead country of northern Minnesota. Had he known that document, he would hardly have concluded that the "Vermilion Lake" mentioned often in McLoughlin's letters of the period was the large Minnesota lake of that name today. There is much repetition in the volume. The author sums up the facts afforded by documents that he prints in the second half of the book, then repeats practically everything by describing all of the major dramatis personae as individuals, and finally explains most of the same facts in footnotes appended to the documents themselves. The documents are the truly valuable contribution. The family information through at least five generations of the Frasers and McLoughlins has its genealogical and local history value, no doubt, but except for the shining star of the whole little galaxy, Dr. David McLoughlin, John's younger brother and a famous physician in Paris and London, the individuals are not important and the constant family bickering is tedious and uninteresting.

*Hamline University*

GRACE LEE NUTE

WILLIAM NAST: PATRIARCH OF GERMAN METHODISM. By *Carl Wittke*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 248. \$4.95.) This study illuminates one shadowy corner of the story of German Methodism. Probably no other scholar is better equipped for the task than Dean Carl Wittke in view of his extensive, discerning studies of German-Americans over the past quarter century. While Paul Douglass' account tilled some of the same ground in 1939, the present work has the inestimable advantage of full access to the family collection of William Nast's papers and the complete file of Nast's German-language journal. The author adroitly accomplishes the purpose of his study by providing a thorough "short biography" of Nast and adding "another chapter . . . to the history of German immigration," to which he has already contributed numerous, penetrating chapters. Born in Stuttgart in 1807, Nast reached the United States at the age of twenty-one, became a Methodist circuit rider in Ohio, organized German Methodist churches through the Middle West, and found his life work as editor of *Der Christliche Apologete* which he published at Cincinnati for half a century. But editing chores absorbed but a fraction of his tireless energy. He found time to propagate Methodism in Germany, establish at Berea, Ohio, German Wallace College, serving as president for many years, and publish



numerous theological works. Here in full dress is William Nast, a rare and admirable man by any standards.

*Los Angeles State College*

DAVID LINDSEY

AMERICA IN THE ANTARCTIC TO 1840. By *Philip I. Mitterling*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 201. \$5.00.) Trading ships of the youthful postrevolutionary United States began invading Antarctic waters in quest of seal pelts and animal oils. It was not, however, until nearly a decade after the War of 1812 that Americans began to pioneer deeper into the unknown. In the period roughly between 1820 and 1840 Americans were probably first to sight Antarctica, land on the coast, and ferret out enough coastland to recognize that Antarctica was a continent. Most of a century was to pass before Admiral Byrd again took up American exploration of Antarctica where Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition dropped it. During the lengthy period of American neglect most of the English-language historical accounts were written by Britishers who quite understandably exalted the part played by their own nationals and minimized American contributions to early Antarctic exploration. Only during the past decade or two have American authors attempted to retell this early nineteenth-century Antarctic history in a more favorable American light. Mr. Mitterling's account is the meticulous effort to present the factual part Americans played in the period up through Wilkes. His account is neither colored by overfamiliarity of personal firsthand experience with polar regions nor by evidence of the cascade of recent events which have moved the exploration of Antarctica forward a thousand-fold beyond the period of his story. *America in the Antarctic to 1840* is an authoritative, readable account worth the reading time of all Americans who desire to get to the roots of the United States heritage in the far south. Mitterling has used reliable and original sources and has included discussion of controversial issues which extended well into the twentieth century. Some readers may wonder why he did not mention corroboration of the discoveries of Palmer and Wilkes by modern researchers and the mosaic aerial photomap of the areas first seen by these early Americans.

*Arlington, Virginia*

PAUL A. SIPLE

LINCOLN'S YOUTH: INDIANA YEARS, SEVEN TO TWENTY-ONE, 1816-1830. By *Louis A. Warren*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. c. 1959. Pp. xxii, 298. \$6.00.) Louis Warren has spent his life with the Lincoln story and has reached the conclusion that the formative period for Mr. Lincoln was in the Indiana years, 1816-1830, when he grew from a lad of seven to a man of twenty-one. This feeling is shared by Dr. Arnold Gesell, Director Emeritus of the Clinic of Child Development at Yale University, who has contributed an interesting introduction. The study has many admirable features: the descriptions of milieu and folkways are excellent; the complicated genealogies of the Lincolns and their neighbors are carefully presented; the accounts of the books that the youthful Abraham is known to have read or is said to have read are full and, generally, satisfactory. It is as history that the deficiencies appear. For this there are several explanations. Of contemporary evidence there is very little. Instead, Warren has had to depend upon the testimony of ancients endowed with fertile, long-surviving, but sometimes suspicion-arousing memories. The text is overindulgent of tradition, conjecture, assumption, bland irrelevancies, and curious credulity. This may have been necessary to expand from about seven pages the Hoosier era as recounted in the new *Lincoln Day by Day*, published by the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, into a full-scale monograph. Occasionally an extraordinary sequitur is encountered, for example, "On September 21 he made his will, bequeathing all his property to his wife, an indication that she was still living." Warren repeatedly insists upon the literacy

of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. This is surprising in a woman who, according to Benjamin P. Thomas, "whenever she signed a legal document she made her mark." A formidable and discouraging salt mine must be consumed in taking this version of *Lincoln's Youth*.  
*Washington, D. C.* DAVID C. MEARNS

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: DEFENDER OF THE UNION. By *Gerald M. Capers*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. c. 1959. Pp. x, 239. \$3.50.) Good biographies of Stephen A. Douglas are few. This one, although less original than Allen Johnson's and much shorter than George F. Milton's, deserves a place alongside them and is in some respects superior to both. The author has succeeded admirably in setting the major details of Douglas' career against the complex background of ante bellum politics. Again and again he demonstrates an unusual ability to peel away the outer leaves of a situation and exhibit its core. His style is vigorous, lucid, and poised, and his willingness to issue forthright judgments makes the book all the more interesting, if also more vulnerable to criticism. It must be added, however, that Professor Capers has a tendency to accept questionable testimony, especially reminiscences, at face value, and that the over-all excellence of his work is somewhat impaired by more than a few slips of one kind or another. For instance, he repeats the discredited story that Douglas invited an unruly Chicago audience to go to hell. His statement that Jefferson Davis in 1850 proposed to prohibit territorial legislatures "from passing any laws in regard to slavery" is inaccurate. And when he asserts that Lincoln "was careful not to join" the Republican party for two years after 1854, he misrepresents both Lincoln's attitude and the political conditions in Illinois during those years. In his treatment of the sectional crisis, Capers aligns himself with the so-called "revisionists." Like Milton, although with greater restraint, he presents Douglas as the most heroic figure in a battle to save the Union from the destructive influences of fanaticism. It is clearly his opinion that the best man for the time was not elected in 1860. But he argues persuasively that in spite of the tragic failure with which it closed, Douglas' life was essentially a "success story" of a man who articulated "a vision of the destiny of the United States," and who, in the end, "gave his life for his country."  
*Stanford University* D. E. FEHRENBACHER

THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM ALEXANDER GRAHAM. Volume II, 1838-1844. Edited by *J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton*. [Publications of the State Department of Archives and History.] (Raleigh, N. C.: the Department. 1959. Pp. xviii, 552. \$3.00.) Students of southern history, already much indebted to J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton for his pioneer work with the massive Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, will welcome the second volume of the William A. Graham *Papers*, ably edited by Hamilton. Graham, eminent state and national Whig leader of the middle period, appears in these pages as Speaker of the North Carolina House of Commons, as United States senator (1840-1843), and as a reluctant but successful gubernatorial candidate, 1844. Letters to and from Graham, campaign and Senate speeches of Graham, miscellaneous letters and documents, and newspaper material afford an insight into the operations of the North Carolina Whig party. Social historians will be interested in Washington society of the early forties and in Graham's fresh vignettes of his Whig colleagues. Here one sees Henry Clay up at five o'clock in the morning for a prebreakfast horseback ride and President Tyler on a social occasion facing Clay and other Whigs immediately following a fiercely controverted bank veto. Clay's well-known personal popularity among Whigs is abundantly demonstrated in Graham's correspondence. These papers present glimpses of Graham's felicitous home life, of his brother James, congressman from North Carolina, of conditions in southern states to

which North Carolinians had migrated, and of growing southern concern of sectional cleavage in the Whig party and the rise of abolitionism. Ubiquitous office seekers were much heard from in 1840 and 1841. Usually North Carolina Whigs were proper enough (sometimes to the point of stuffiness), though occasional illiterate "crank" letters introduce a touch of humor. All this is garnished by dashes of hymeneal gossip and homely philosophy. Scholars will anticipate the forthcoming five volumes covering the remainder of Graham's career.

*Washington and Lee University*

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

A PIONEER IN NORTHWEST AMERICA, 1841-1858: THE MEMOIRS OF GUSTAF UNONIUS. Volume II. Translated from the Swedish by *Jonas Oscar Backlund*. Edited by *Nils William Olsson*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press for the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society. 1960. Pp. vii, 357. \$7.50.) Gustaf Unonius arrived in America in 1841. He was a young intellectual who became an Episcopal clergyman and established a congregation in Chicago called St. Ansgarius. He was a man of vigor and with the arrival of more immigrants from Sweden accompanied by Lutheran clergymen, he became embroiled in religious rivalry and controversy. This volume of the memoirs contains much material on this aspect of his life, which the editor found wise to exclude. In his original account Unonius embellished his story by drawing upon others for general information, which the editor also omitted. Nils William Olsson has done an excellent job of editing, to which several pages of annotated footnotes testify. Unonius was a keen observer of the American scene. His memoirs constitute an informative America book which provides a unique picture of life among Swedish immigrants in pre-Civil War America. It is an unusual autobiography of a serious-minded European who was enthralled and baffled by the ferment of pioneer life on the frontier. The Swedish Pioneer Historical Society should be congratulated upon its service to historical scholarship. The late Jonas Oscar Backlund did a praiseworthy translation of the memoirs. Besides footnotes supplied by the editor there are a few illustrations and a useful index.

*Augustana College*

O. FRITTOF ANDER

GOLD VS. GRAIN: THE HYDRAULIC MINING CONTROVERSY IN CALIFORNIA'S SACRAMENTO VALLEY. A CHAPTER IN THE DECLINE OF THE CONCEPT OF LAISSEZ FAIRE. By *Robert L. Kelley*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1959. Pp. 327. \$9.50 postpaid.) The script writers of television westerns, who have long since exhausted the possibilities of the conflict between ranchers and nesters, could find a rich field in this colorful account of the political, social, and judicial struggle of the farmers and townsmen of the Sacramento Valley against the "hydraulicickers" who dumped floods of mud, sand, and gravel into the Yuba, Bear, American, and Feather Rivers from the 1850's to the 1880's. Farms were buried by mining debris, towns were repeatedly flooded, and rivers, eventually including most of the Sacramento itself, were rendered unnavigable. After many inconclusive court actions, the decision of Judge Sawyer of the Ninth United States Circuit Court in 1884 finally outlawed the dumping of tailings into rivers. This put an end to all but limited and clandestine operations, constantly harried by the "spies" of the farmers' Anti-Debris Association. After tempestuous scenes in the state legislature, the federal Caminetti Act of 1893 created the California Debris Commission, the third river commission in the United States. Only the Missouri and the Mississippi preceded the Sacramento. The excellent book-making of the Arthur H. Clark Company continues to be notable, with highly readable type to match the author's forthright style, and with a compact map cleverly designed to be left folded out from the book for reference at a glance at any

point in the reading. The flaws this reviewer noticed were few and relatively minor. In some instances (e.g., page 214) the author quotes important court decisions from newspapers without otherwise identifying the cases. In general the book is thoroughly researched, well organized, and well written.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WALTON BEAN

THE INDIAN JOURNALS, 1859-62. By *Lewis Henry Morgan*. Edited and with an introduction by *Leslie A. White*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. c. 1959. Pp. 229. \$17.50.) Lewis Henry Morgan was a nineteenth-century attorney turned ethnologist. His interest in American Indians began with a study of the Iroquoian tribes in New York State, an avocation that led to publication and finally to a deep engrossment in the whole question of native races. Between the years 1859 and 1862 Morgan made extensive research tours into Kansas and Nebraska, the Red River of the north, and up the Missouri River to Fort Benton, Montana. The central theme of his quest was to learn more about family relationships among the Indians. His studies of the New York Indians led him to the discovery that their custom of designating relatives was markedly different from that used in his own society. For example, an Iroquois would call his father's brother "father," and the children of his father's brother, "brother." When he learned that this custom was general among other tribes he propounded the notion that if this system of relationships, so different from that of Western Europe, could be traced to Asia, then the Asiatic origin of the American Indian might be established. It was a question that would be debated for years, well into the twentieth century. While Morgan's journals are filled with the kind of information interesting to anthropologists, the historian also will find them useful. His descriptions of the land, the people he met, both red and white, and economic conditions he observed will add documentation to the general available body of knowledge about the West. Leslie A. White, professor of anthropology at the University of Michigan, has done a careful job of editing and annotating. Clyde Walton, Illinois State Historian, selected and edited the illustrations and thereby added greatly to the attractiveness of the volume. The collaboration has produced a work essential to any library and one that will be highly prized by collectors of western Americana.

*University of Colorado*

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1859-1959. By *R. Carlyle Buley*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. c. 1959. Pp. xviii, 262. \$5.00.) Professor Buley has delved deeply into the history of life insurance, one of the nation's great institutions. In this anniversary volume he tells briefly the story of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States during its first hundred years. Those years covered three major wars and three major depressions. The society began that century with a rented office, two borrowed clerks, and a thirty-foot sign and ended it with more than \$33,000,000,000 of life insurance in force and assets of nearly nine and a half billion. That, as the author says, "is an impressive record." The officials of Equitable, convinced from the beginning (as most of their contemporaries in similar ventures have been) that theirs was a humanitarian organization, have missed no opportunity to celebrate an anniversary. Histories of the fiftieth, sixtieth, sixty-fifth, seventieth, and seventy-fifth were written by company officials. A trained historian, however, wrote the one on the hundredth. But it is no less a company history. The story is told in nine major divisions beginning with the courageous ambitions of young Henry Baldwin Hyde and sweeping rapidly and gallantly over trials and tribulations, moving into Europe and out again, surviving depressions, defying fire, war, and pestilence, and emerging in 1959 ready, able, and willing to provide "as it has in the

past, other centuries of services and security." Since it was hurriedly compiled to mark a special event, this volume as history lacks both breadth and depth. It is clearly written, contains much interesting information, and reveals in bare outline the development of life insurance in general, but its purpose and size limit its contribution. It will please the lovers of good book-making, delight the personnel of Equitable, and disappoint the scholars. The last must await the comprehensive study that Buley is making in order to understand the parts, good and bad, that the great corporation and its guiding men have played in our history. That part has been a significant one, and it deserves an unhurried and careful presentation, a thorough analysis, and a detached criticism.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

MEADE OF GETTYSBURG. By *Freeman Cleaves*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1960. Pp. xi, 384. \$5.00.) "They will be ready to fight a magnificent battle," Lincoln said of Meade and his men directly after Gettysburg, "when there is no enemy to fight." He was right. Cleaves, while discussing Meade there and elsewhere takes the middle road, neither blaming nor condoning his hero whom he treats gently and honestly, defending with mildness and attacking infrequently. "Lee Steals a March" is the title of the chapter describing Meade's reluctance to attack after Gettysburg. "Our task is not yet accomplished," the victorious general admitted, but his order to drive the invader "from our soil" was an empty one. Lee was not driven; he left. Lincoln was quick to note that Meade never thought in terms that might prevent Lee from ever returning home. In spite of the poor condition of the Army of the Potomac after the battle, and other problems, there is no evidence that Meade considered taking the offensive. The biography indicates that Meade had little audacity and no imagination. Grant thought him "capable and perfectly subordinate." Nothing in this book, which presents the Civil War as one continuous battle with Meade in its midst, gives cause to think of him as other than a less colorful but more successful McClellan. In the year before Gettysburg the Army of the Potomac fought four crucial battles, Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, and for each of them, as for Gettysburg, it had a different commander. Meade's own words to his wife stated the most cogent reason for his appointment (although not quoted by the author) when he said that "no general officer . . . has been in more battles, or more exposed" than he. It was true; he was experienced. After General Reynolds went to Washington to be sure he, Reynolds, was not given the command, the President had no one else to replace Hooker. Characteristically, when making Meade's appointment, in view of the fact that the general was a native of Pennsylvania, Lincoln commented that Meade would probably do well "on his own dunghill." Although appointed only three days before the Battle of Gettysburg and, as Meade said, ignorant of "the exact conditions of the troops and position of the enemy," Meade did do well. After Gettysburg Cleaves continues his narrative to the end of the war with Meade in charge of Grant's army. The relationship between the two men is explored: Grant, the leader and man of action, and Meade, the good general who acted well in all instances. Meade justly earned the support of his superior but, perhaps unfairly, not that of the supporters of Sheridan. Meade remains a shadow from beginning to end, one that even Gettysburg and this book cannot disturb.

Remsenburg, New York

DONALD N. BIGELOW

CUSTER: THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER. By *Jay Monaghan*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. c. 1959. Pp. x, 469. \$6.00.) Monaghan's *Custer* represents the fifth attempt at a full-length biography since the appear-



ance in 1876 of Frederic Whittaker's *A Complete Life of Gen. George A. Custer*. In a series of articles published in *Galaxy* between 1872 and 1874 Custer himself contributed the first specimen of Custeriana, of which no less than sixty-two items, exclusive of historical fiction and juvenile literature, appear in the Library of Congress card catalogue. A substantial majority of Custer items are polemical treatments of Custer's Last Stand, by all odds the most famous episode in his career. Probably the 150,000 copies of the Casilly Adams and F. Otto Becker paintings of the massacre, distributed by the brewing firm of Anheuser-Busch, have been more influential in popularizing the Custer legend than anything written by his friends or detractors. Monaghan's interpretation, that of an experienced writer who is not an academic historian, differs materially from the viewpoint of the last Custer biography, written by Frederic Van de Water just twenty-five years ago in the debunking style characteristic of that era. Devoting more than half of his 410 pages to Custer's early life, including the Civil War years, Monaghan provides a perceptive and better-balanced treatment of the career and personality of the noted Indian fighter. Although the Monaghan volume will have popular appeal, it is far from being an unscholarly work. Making critical use of a larger body of evidence than any previous Custer biographer, Monaghan enlightens various aspects of Custer's career, among them his prominent role in Civil War cavalry operations. Probably the book's outstanding deficiency is its failure to illuminate the narrative with maps. Another questionable feature is the interpolation of dialogue apparently based in some instances on inference rather than documentary evidence. On the moot point of Custer's responsibility for the concluding tragedy of his life, Monaghan implies that Custer did not actually disobey orders and ascribes the result to faulty intelligence concerning the number of hostile Indians. In the light of his military career as a whole, the wonder is not that the disaster occurred but that such a fate did not befall Custer many years earlier.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

VICKSBURG: A PEOPLE AT WAR, 1860-1865. By *Peter F. Walker*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1960. Pp. xvi, 235. \$5.00.) Between 1861 and 1865 a respectable number of American civilians experienced military siege. That nearly all of them were Confederates is hardly surprising; the fundamentals of the situation did not permit otherwise. But though the Confederacy as a whole may be regarded as an emergency moat and bailey creation, surrounded by a superior enemy, there were four southern bastions that withstood closer and more prolonged siege than any others. These were Richmond, Petersburg, Atlanta, and Vicksburg, and it was Vicksburg that underwent the most intense experience of all. Vicksburg, declares Professor Walker, was something special. It was special in its geography, in the unusual juxtaposition of bluff, meander, and bayou. It was politically special; though within a state that was second only to South Carolina in its capacity for grievance, Vicksburg in November of 1860 supported the Unionist ticket of Bell and Everett and two months later sent to the Secession Convention at Jackson a pair of delegates who did not believe in secession. Two years and three months later still the city stood unique in terms of bursting projectiles and simple suffering. Walker's study of a civil community under hostile investment is likewise an uncommon phenomenon in a war bibliography which too often is dedicated to block diagrams and the professional squabbles of the highly ranked. To be sure, his approach is not unprecedented; Alfred Hoyt Bill and A. A. Hoehling have done the same for Richmond and Atlanta. But his *Vicksburg* is a strikingly deft performance. It is accomplished with style upon a foundation of honest scholarship. And it is done with brevity; seldom have I encountered so courageous a



culling of data. Indeed, it is to be hoped that the citizenry of Confederate Petersburg will presently acquire a historian of equal competence.

*Trinity College*

ROBERT C. BLACK III

**THE QUIET REBEL: WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS AS SOCIAL COMMENTATOR.** By *Robert L. Hough*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1959. Pp. 137. \$4.00.) Mr. Hough, who teaches English at the University of Nebraska, has written a tight little book that traces the views of William Dean Howells on American social problems from Howells' youth in pre-Civil War America until his death in 1920. In his long and active intellectual life, Howells went through four distinct periods in which his attitudes about America and its social problems took on different perspectives. The first was that of childhood, youth, and young manhood lasting until 1865 in which Howells, according to Hough, saw the norms of small-town Ohio as those of the nation and therefore believed America to be in a golden age. By the 1870's, however, Howells, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, became increasingly aware of a set of new problems introduced by the growing urban industrial society. But most of his writings continued to center on the problem of individual morality set apart from the social environment. Hough sees this dualism giving way at the end of the 1880's when Howells was shocked into an awareness of the depth of these problems by such events as the Haymarket Riot. Then Howells coupled his writing to his views of the social problems. His words became those of social protest against the materialism and brutality of competitive capitalism, and his novels those of hope as he postulated a possible utopian solution for these problems. Hough makes his greatest contribution by documenting the fact that the fourth period of Howells' social awareness, 1900-1920, was marked by a biting criticism of the values of the American economy. Howells became increasingly pessimistic or at least less utopian during these years but he did not cease to appeal to the American conscience. Hough has set as his tasks the chronicling of Howells' attitudes on social problems throughout his long lifetime; this he has done well. He has neither tried to go below the surface in relating these attitudes to Howells' art, nor in relating Howells to his historical context. It is hoped that Hough or someone else soon will struggle with these problems of major significance.

*University of Minnesota*

DAVID W. NOBLE

**JOHN JAY CHAPMAN—AN AMERICAN MIND.** By *Richard B. Hovey*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 391. \$6.50.) John Jay Chapman is usually remembered as the eccentric Boston aristocrat who, in order to punish himself for striking a rival in love, held his hand in the fire until an amputation was necessary. He was also an unsuccessful reformer, a fairly prolific writer of essays, and, in his declining years, a neurotic foe of immigrants and Catholics. Despite his frustrations and vagaries, he has been fervently admired by William and Henry James, Herbert Croly, Edmund Wilson, and others. In this first complete biography, Dr. Hovey tries to explain this admiration. Hovey's "mental biography" is clearly not intended primarily as either political or literary history. Nor is it, despite the temptations of the subject and considerable halfhearted effort, a psychoanalytical study. When Hovey deals with politics, literary currents, or inner motivation he is often thin. His description of reform in the nineties is drawn from very few books, including one standard text and one pocket summary of American history. He relates Chapman to critical movements in one period by running quickly through a list of critics drawn from a history of American literature. His fairly frequent suggestions of psychoanalytical interpretation seem too much influenced by one semipopular book. In all these

fields, one should do either more or less. Yet these defects are not as damaging as one might expect. Neither Chapman's political life nor his position among critical schools is important. He is important as a specimen of a type: the American prophet. This means a gifted writer, at odds with his own time, sometimes difficult and eccentric, at his best illuminating, and in the long run influential. With regard to such prophets, we are not primarily interested in the details of their lives or even in the inner springs of their prophecy, but in what they said. Hovey is most successful when he presents Chapman straight, by summary and quotation. At his best, it becomes clear, Chapman was a successor both of Emerson and Garrison, a forerunner of such critics as Randolph Bourne and the young Van Wyck Brooks. His favorite targets were commercialism, conventional culture, and mob cruelty, and he scored direct hits on all three. Hovey's useful presentation, the most complete so far, should send readers back to Chapman's own puzzling and fascinating works.

*University of California, Berkeley*

HENRY F. MAY

PORTRAIT OF AMERICA: LETTERS OF HENRY SIENKIEWICZ. Edited and translated by *Charles Morley*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xix, 300. \$5.00.) In 1876-1878 Henry Sienkiewicz visited the United States. His letters, published in Warsaw newspapers, are here made available in English for the first time in book form. Sienkiewicz, who was then thirty years old, came to America to find a location for a colony in California. The colony soon failed. Sienkiewicz traveled about and wrote more letters. His views, originally based on those of Tocqueville and Dickens, were modified as he investigated and reflected. Depressed with conditions in his homeland, he came to ask why the American experiment had been successful. Sienkiewicz was an acute observer, and he could write. The editor and translator has caught the literary quality. The book will rightly attract the scholarly historian and the reader who just enjoys books of travel. Sienkiewicz on California is as informative as Tocqueville on New York and the Middle West.

*Washington, D. C.*

BCS

REPUBLICANS FACE THE SOUTHERN QUESTION—THE NEW DEPARTURE YEARS, 1877-1897. By *Vincent P. De Santis*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXVII (1959), Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1959. Pp. 275, viii. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$4.00.) This volume successfully illuminates the attempts by a series of Republican Presidents to develop support in the South for their party after the restoration of "home rule" to the states. The different policies applied by Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison are clarified and their effectiveness is appraised. The author recognizes the dilemmas of those political leaders and fairly shows their compromises and opportunism. The failure of each is explained. The book lacks a bibliography but the ample footnotes cite the relevant presidential papers, the papers of John Sherman and William E. Chandler, and those of Marmaduke J. Hawkins in the State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, as well as a variety of periodicals and reputable secondary works. Perhaps with a view to gaining authenticity, the author has resorted to a superabundance of quotations from persons and publications. His own analyses, even when less felicitously expressed, carry more weight. The book achieves its author's avowed purpose, that of demonstrating that Republican failure in the South did not result from lack of persistent effort to win allies there between 1877 and 1897. He is able also to trace the recent Republican support of independents in southern states to precedents set during the Arthur administration. If he has, in fact, penetrated below the surface of events, he has still left him-

self with a great deal of worth-while work to be done before he completes a definitive treatment of his theme.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

COTTON MANUFACTURING IN THE SOUTHEAST: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By *Jack Blicksilver*. [Studies in Business and Economics, Bulletin Number 5.] (Atlanta: Georgia State College of Business Administration. 1959. Pp. viii, 176.) As stated in the preface, this work is not intended to be a definitive history of the southern cotton textile industry. It would, indeed, have been impossible in such a short work to present a thorough historical treatment of this important aspect of the South's economy. Instead Professor Blicksilver discusses such various aspects of the industry as organization, technological change, marketing, and labor in four chronological periods beginning in 1880. The first period, covering the years to 1910, saw the steady, though often turbulent, growth of this leading New South enterprise. The years from 1910 to 1923 are characterized as "the lusty young manhood" of the industry, marked by increasing gains over the New England mills. The southern mills won definite supremacy between 1923 and 1940, but the period was marked by severe depression in the industry in both sections. The final part describes the economic revival of cotton textiles during World War II and postwar problems growing out of increased competition from abroad and from synthetic fibers. A major theme is the chronic rivalry between New England and southern mills. Another theme, implied but never fully developed, is the evolution of the southern textile industry from a unique and favored position to one more similar to other large industrial enterprises that must advance by utilizing research and promotional techniques. Woven into the narrative is much statistical material that probably could have been presented more effectively in tabular form. The author has relied largely on secondary accounts, but the book cannot be called a comprehensive synthesis. Nor is it primarily interpretative, although some significant insights and interpretations appear from time to time. Better organization and presentation could have made major ideas and themes more meaningful. There is no bibliography.

University of Houston

ALLEN J. GOING

THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION (1893-94). By *William Adam Russ, Jr.* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press. 1959. Pp. v, 372. \$5.00.) This is a careful and meticulous narrative of the sequence of events, beginning with the background of the Hawaiian Revolution of 1893 and closing with the partisan debate in Congress on Grover Cleveland's Hawaiian policy, subjects in which Professor Russ has long been interested. His research has been thorough; the only possible significant source that he appears to have neglected is the letters of missionaries in the islands, some of whom were shrewd observers of the local political scene and who held mixed views about the wisdom of annexation. There have been many brief studies of aspects of the Revolution, both in the form of articles and of chapters in monographs. This is, however, the first important book-length treatment of the Revolution and its aftermath since W. D. Alexander's *History of the Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy*, published in 1896 as an apology for the annexationists. So much has been written about the causes of the Revolution, the United States minister's mysterious role in it, the policy of President Cleveland (which the author justifiably calls quixotic), and the ill-fated effort to restore the Queen that it probably is impossible for anyone at this late date to uncover new information. There are other aspects of the story that have been less thoroughly explored. These include the activities of the Hawaiian representatives in Washington and the tedious debates in the House and Senate after Cleveland referred the hopelessly

confused issue of Hawaiian policy to Congress. In his discussion of these points, the author breaks new ground. From time to time Russ interjects his own interpretation of the events he is describing; he has a three-page summary in which he states categorically his judgments of the principal issues which have long been the subject of controversy. Informed students of Hawaiian history will find little in his judgments to which they can take exception. Those who recall an earlier article by Russ (*Pacific Historical Review*, XII, 339-50) will be interested to note that he now appears to place greater emphasis upon corruption in the Queen's government and less upon the fear of "Mongolization" of the islands as a cause of the annexationist movement. Students of Hawaiian history and of American expansion will be pleased that the author promises a sequel to this useful book, which is to deal with events less well known.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

THE CALUMET REGION: INDIANA'S LAST FRONTIER. By *Powell A. Moore*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXIX.] ([Indianapolis:] Indiana Historical Bureau. 1959. Pp. xiii, 654. \$6.00 postpaid.) *The Calumet Region* is essentially the account of the factors, with an emphasis upon the economic, that transformed the swamps and dunes of Lake County into the highly industrialized area comprising present-day East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, and Whiting. The story is well documented, well organized, well written, and interpretative. The author has combed manuscripts, newspapers, and a wealth of other source material to arrive at his prudent conclusions. The early economic development was painfully slow. Rapid growth came only after each city was dominated by one leading industry. Although Hammond's beginnings can be traced to the packing industry, it became one of Indiana's leading cities only because of steel. East Chicago is also associated with steel, and in 1906 Gary was literally created by that industry. (The Gary story is most impressive.) Whiting, of course, owes its importance to the Standard Oil Refineries. The generalizations dealing with controversial subjects are well considered. In a few instances, however, the author does not take full advantage of his opportunities. This is especially true of the discussion of the major strikes. Many will regret that *The Calumet Region* carries the story only through 1933, since few urban histories give such an abundance of raw material for professional historians and, at the same time, satisfy the requirements of the more general reader.

Wayne State University

SIDNEY GLAZER

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S WORLD ORDER. By *Willard Range*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 219. \$4.50.) We have in this book a summary account of Franklin Roosevelt's ideas on world affairs, from his student days onward, with emphasis on the World War II period. In his brief opening chapters Professor Range sketches FDR's thinking on "the breakdown of world order" after the peace of 1919 and on the implications of this for the United States. He finds Roosevelt's explanations eight in number, some of them mutually contradictory: the leniency shown by the Allies toward Germany, the "corruption" of the League of Nations (largely due to the failure of the United States to join), the rise of economic nationalism (for which he partially blamed American high tariffs), the unresponsiveness of most governments (an exception being the New Deal, of course) to modern problems, the control of affairs in some countries by groups of evil men, the arms race, the decline in the moral and spiritual fiber of some peoples (especially in Europe), and the lures of pacifism. After these tantalizing chapters, which raise more questions than they answer, Range examines FDR's ideas for a new world order. Following a general treatment of Roosevelt's approach, Range builds his story around the major themes that are

his chapter titles: "The Good Neighbor Ideal in International Relations," "The Eradication of Evil Forces," "World Disarmament," "The Abolition of Imperialism," "World-Wide Democracy and Freedom," "A Global New Deal," and "A Collective Security System." A brief conclusion develops the idea that the President's hopes for the future were pinned to his belief that the peoples led astray by the Axis dictators could be redeemed only after a period of psychotherapy, after which the world might indeed be made safe for democracy. A double-columned set of backnotes, an arrangement which makes them as useful as backnotes can ever be made, plus a short inadequate index round out the book. The result is a kind of source book, of interest to all who are concerned with the study of international relations in this century. In addition to the obvious published sources, Range has made use of the President's personal files, the President's secretary's files, and the press conference transcripts at Hyde Park. He has apparently not used the unindexed official files at Hyde Park, the pertinent series in the National Archives, or any other manuscript collections, and he has not interviewed any of the people close to FDR. Range is scarcely definitive anywhere, but his modesty and straightforwardness, his willingness to go where the evidence leads, and his admirable refusal to get off the main subject produce an appealing book. Roosevelt is unmistakably a hero to the author, who has made a case for a leader who reflected public opinion, even when it clearly seemed contradictory and self-defeating, almost as much as he led it. Range has not tried to provide us with all the answers to the problems he raises about Roosevelt's thinking, but he has given us, in this tentative and unpretentious book, some very interesting data. If he is long on compilation and short on analysis, he has provided a point of departure for further scholarship.

*University of Washington*

ROBERT E. BURKE

TIME RUNS OUT IN CBI. By *Charles F. Romanus* and *Riley Sunderland*. [U. S. Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xvii, 428. \$6.75.) The last of three adroitly written volumes begins with the division of the CBI Theater into the India-Burma and China Theaters and the consequent assumption of command in the latter by Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer on October 31, 1944. It ends after V-J Day on a scene of frustrated confusion: abandonment of the drive on Fort Bayard, dismantling of the elaborate apparatus that Wedemeyer had created (on the foundation laid by Stilwell) to ready the United States-sponsored Chinese divisions for combat, obsolescence of the Ledo Road before its utilization in the 1945-1946 dry season, and the agonies of a commander of an overseas theater whose government, like its citizens, had not determined its postwar role in East Asia. Able, sincere, often brilliant, particularly at the conference table, Wedemeyer created order out of the confusion he had inherited from Lieutenant General Joseph W. (Vinegar Joe) Stilwell. At India-Burma Theater headquarters, Lieutenant General Daniel I. Sultan and his successor, Lieutenant General Raymond A. Wheeler, worked hard to support the China Theater and secure the north Burma ground line of communications. This official study is a masterpiece of compression and synthesis. It deals authoritatively and in broad perspective with the major problems the two theater commanders faced. The authors apparently weighed and utilized all the available pertinent official sources as well as a mass of interviews, studies, and books by principal Allied and Japanese officers and officials. Students of military history or of mainland China, staff officers, foreign service personnel, and administrators will find this an invaluable tool. The authors identify numerous topics that deserve additional study and frequently present conflicting interpretations by participants in a given incident. As in the preceding volumes of the sub-series, many interesting sections deal with the timely subject of military assistance.



The experiences and techniques of Liman von Sanders, T. E. Lawrence, Edward L. Spears, and the German Military Mission to China (1928-1938) were drawn upon heavily by both Stilwell and Wedemeyer, whose procedures, in turn, have been refined and applied by Van Fleet and others.

*Texas Woman's University*

FENTON KEYES

THE NEWCOMERS: NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS IN A CHANGING METROPOLIS. By *Oscar Handlin*. [New York Metropolitan Region Study, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 171. \$4.00.) This brief but comprehensive consideration of the Negro and the Puerto Rican in the New York metropolitan region benefits from Oscar Handlin's long orientation in the study of uprooted and newly replanted elements in our society. By discussing these newcomers against the background of migration since the 1820's he is able to show that their behavior resembles in many ways that of groups that ultimately were integrated successfully into the urban community. He nevertheless makes it clear that history is here repeating itself with a difference; for color prejudice and the increasing rigidity of the economy have slowed the rate of social mobility of the Negro and Puerto Rican; and these factors have dulled the incentive which, for earlier migrant groups, sprang from a clearer conviction that adequate living conditions were potentially attainable. He sees the expansion of the metropolis as adding an obstacle, in view of the increasing identification of suburban living with the achievement of social status and the difficulty, for Negroes and Puerto Ricans, of developing cohesive ethnic communities in the suburbs. On this latter point, Handlin bears down hard—perhaps too hard—on his thesis that the cohesiveness of the ethnic group has been and continues to be (even in the suburbs) the major instrument of the adjustment of newcomers to the urban environment, that without such cohesiveness a group fails to develop the voluntary associations, community institutions, and leadership which provide an “understanding of the problems of metropolitan life and aid in dealing with them.” Indeed, it is their failure to achieve in this area as fast as their predecessors that, in Handlin's opinion, chiefly differentiates the Negroes and Puerto Ricans from earlier migrants to New York City. He detects some progress in this direction but points to the need for greater occupational mobility, better education, improved housing, and a relaxation of color prejudice if a sense of group pride is to be realized. He recognizes but does not really resolve the dilemma inherent in reconciling physical group identification with the ideal of racial integration as far as these particular people are concerned.

*New York University*

BAYRD STILL

#### LATIN AMERICA

NARCISO LÓPEZ Y SU ÉPOCA (1850-1851). Volume III. By *Herminio Portell Vilá*. (Havana: Compañía Editora de Libros y Folletos. 1958. Pp. 796. 6 Pesos.) The present hefty volume completes the author's long study of the subject, the first volume of which appeared in 1930, and the second in 1952. Actually the author tells us the study began in his childhood in Cárdenas, an important scene of the Narciso López story. The thesis is frequently stated: Narciso López was the real precursor of Cuban independence and did not favor annexation to the United States as claimed by certain “pseudo-historians.” Not willing to join their ranks, I am willing to accept the point as established, admitting the excellent presentation and abundant documentation provided by the author. More interesting to a resident of the southern United States are the fascinating glimpses given of leaders and politics of the 1848-1851 period. Not only is there enough on espionage, dramatic raids, and political maneuvering to inspire a



shelf of paper-backed thrillers, but the leads for further study by southern historians are impressive. The author has combed manuscripts in the Library of Congress and other places for the López story; graduate students could with profit follow his tracks and the trail of Stephen Mallory of Florida, Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar of Louisiana and Texas, and hundreds of other leaders of the time drawn into the López plans, so closely related to the burning issues of the period between the Mexican and Civil Wars. *Gainesville, Florida*

ROBERT E. McNICOLL

HISTORIA DE LA GUERRA DE LOS DIEZ AÑOS (DESDE LA ASAMBLEA DE GUÁIMARO HASTA LA DESTITUCIÓN DE CÉSPEDES). By *Francisco J. Ponte Domínguez*. [Publicaciones de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana: the Academia. 1958. Pp. x, 481.) This volume won the Rodolfo Rodríguez de Armas Prize of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba for 1954. The only work submitted in the contest, it adds little to the two-volume *Guerra de los Diez Años, 1868-1878*, by Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, published in 1950-1952. Ponte Domínguez devoted more space to the military campaigns and to international affairs than to changes in social institutions. Works published in Spain buttress his condemnation of Spanish "atrocities." The author asserted that the superiority in men and arms compelled the revolutionists to resort to scorched earth guerrilla warfare. Spain was determined to maintain Cuba and Puerto Rico as "integral" parts of the Spanish Empire. More strident than Guerra y Sánchez in denouncing Fish and Grant, Ponte Domínguez appears not to have read Allan Nevins' *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*. Some of the Spanish American nations gave ineffective support to the cause of the revolutionists. Colombia in 1870 recognized their status as belligerents and proposed in the same year a military alliance of the Spanish American nations for the liberation of Cuba and Puerto Rico. This proposal failed as did a motion in the Colombian legislature to seek the aid of President Guzmán Blanco of Venezuela in raising twenty thousand troops to break the blockade of Cuba. Similarly the attempt by some Spanish American nations for joint mediation with the United States proved unfruitful. The appendix gives the text of laws enacted by the unicameral legislature that succeeded the Constitutional Convention of Guáimaro on April 11, 1869. The most important of these laws dealt with marriage and divorce, free public schools for all through the primary grades in order to prepare an intelligent citizenry, protection of the rights of emancipated slaves, an electoral law, the reorganization of the government and of the army. Ponte Domínguez did not examine at length in the text the extent to which changes in social institutions became effective, probably because the revolution failed to win independence by 1873 (or by 1878). The deposition of Céspedes in 1873 resulted primarily from a bitter conflict between a strong executive and a legislature determined to curb his powers. Céspedes precipitated his downfall when he accused representatives of being "a handful of ambitious men, at odds with one another, and [imbued] with criminal intentions." Ponte Domínguez concluded that the president's acceptance of his deposition warrants him an honorable place in Cuban history.

*Howard University*

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

FREEDOM AND REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by *Frederick B. Pike*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 308. \$6.00.) The editor's elucidation of the theme of this volume of essays makes one wonder whether "freedom and reform" in the title might not better have been "reform versus freedom." Clarifying the "profoundly ambiguous" word reform, he dis-

tinguishes between "inner reform," based on self-discipline, which, "the philosophers tell us, brings true freedom," and "external reform of the physical environment and institutional structure," which curbs freedom. In the editor's opinion the latter type of reform is the one with which Latin America, in common with most of the rest of the modern world, has been mainly concerned, and Latin American efforts at external reform "have generated the unavoidable concomitant of greater government control administered by apostolic bureaucrats." Some of the contributors agree with the editor, some disagree, and some do not come to grips with the question at all. Within each of the first two groups there are differences in the degree of agreement or disagreement, as well as in the way in which the question is approached. The strongest and most direct agreement comes from William S. Stokes, who, in "Democracy, Freedom, and Reform in Latin America," concludes that "the heart of all the great political ideologies in Latin America of recent decades" has been the achievement of higher living standards through an extension of government control, with the result that "the possibilities for individual liberty and freedom, whether expressed in economic or political areas, become less in Latin America." At the other extreme, Alceu Amoroso Lima, discussing "Voices of Liberty and Reform in Brazil," reaches just as surely the conclusion that "Freedom and reform are complementaries. Every social reform that does not bring as a result an increase in freedom will not be long enduring." In between stands Richard D. Adams ("Freedom and Reform in Rural Latin America"), who argues that the agrarian and other welfare reforms "do not have the achievement of freedom as their overt rationale" and "are not significant because they are providing Latin Americans with greater freedom, but because they are providing a way by which the degree of freedom that is already enjoyed can be maintained in a changing world." Most of the other chapters discuss the central theme topically. The most relevant and substantial, in my opinion, are those on cultural heterogeneity (Charles C. Cumberland) and constitutionalism (Ferdinand A. Hermens). There are also interesting background chapters on sources of revolution (the editor) and urbanism and industrialization (Wendell C. Gordon), and a chapter on education (Pedro A. Cebollero) that misses the mark. For good reasons there are individual chapters on three countries: in addition to Brazil these include Uruguay (Russell H. Fitzgibbon) and Bolivia (Arthur Karasz). On the whole this book provides a good introduction to the historical background as well as to the present terms of one of modern Latin America's major problems.

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George Boehrer

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# *Historical News*

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1960 American Historical Association annual meeting will be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City, December 28-30.

The Asia Foundation has granted the American Historical Association \$2,500 for travel expenses of Asian historians, who are in the United States to Association meetings, and for one year Association memberships of Asian scholars residing in Asia.

The AHA Committee on Documentary Reproduction in the past has assisted scholars desiring to do microfilming abroad. Though no funds are available at present, the Committee hopes that it may continue to help scholars and it welcomes information concerning various projects. Those interested are urged to write to the Committee chairman, Professor Robert Eckles, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

## LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received as a gift from Mrs. Noel Sokoloff a valuable addition to the papers of her grandfather, Daniel Scott Lamont, who served as private secretary and later as Secretary of War for his close friend Grover Cleveland.

Mr. John A. Thompson has presented to the Library more than twelve thousand pieces composed of the papers of his father, Ambrose W. Thompson (1810-1882), and files relating to the Chiriqui Improvement Company, a concern founded by his father during the 1850's to develop the land and water resources of an area that lies partly in Panama, partly in Costa Rica. Mr. Thompson's correspondence and miscellaneous legal and financial documents reflect his wide-ranging interests.

The papers of pioneer aviator and airplane builder Glenn L. Martin (1886-1955) have been given to the Library by his sister, Miss Della Martin. The material is composed of Mr. Martin's personal and business correspondence for the last eighteen years of his life, including exchanges relating to his gift to the University of Maryland of the Glenn L. Martin Institute of Technology, papers concerning the many organizations of which he was a member, and an extensive file of photographs of airplanes he developed.

Associate Justice Harold H. Burton has presented a first installment of approximately 145,000 of his personal and public papers to the Library. This segment, most of which is composed of correspondence, relates to Justice Burton's career from the time he was in private law practice through the initial years of his



service on the Supreme Court. The Burton papers may be used only with special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division. The Library has also received a first installment of the papers of James Couzens (1872-1936), United States senator from Michigan, as a gift from Mrs. Couzens and other members of the family. The material now available consists of general correspondence from 1908 to 1933, but most of this is dated after 1915.

The May 1960 issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscript Division during 1959.

The National Archives has recently issued the following preliminary inventories: no. 123, *Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel*; no. 124, *Records of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania*; and no. 125, *Records of the Public Works Administration*. Another guide in the series prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has been published: no. 15, *Records of Former German and Japanese Embassies and Consulates, 1890-1945*. Among recently issued Microfilm Publications are: Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from One Additional Agency (thirty-three rolls) and from miscellaneous sources (fifty-nine rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the State of New Hampshire (three rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, 1888-1891 (ten rolls); Records of the Department of State, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Mexico (242 rolls), and to Political Relations between the United States and Mexico (twenty-nine rolls); and Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi (427 rolls).

The Harry S. Truman Library has acquired a small quantity of papers from former Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson. An additional 2,600 items were recently added to the papers of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman among the Library's collections. At its third annual meeting the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs approved an extension of the Institute's grants-in-aid program. Grants will normally amount to less than one thousand dollars and cover travel and living expenses for short periods of study at the Library on subjects related to the Truman administration. Applications for grants should be made to the Director of the Library; they will be reviewed and awards made by a committee of the Institute. The Institute Board also authorized its executive committee to formulate plans for an oral history program. Sixteen historians and political scientists from nine middle western universities, with Professor Frank Freidel of Harvard as discussion leader, met at the Library's first conference of scholars on March 25 and 26. Information concerning the Library's resources was given, and important suggestions were made for stimulating research and augmenting the Library's holdings.

Since the National Historical Publications Commission issued its preliminary report in 1951 on a national program for the publication of papers of American leaders, it has lent its support to a number of publication projects. Late in 1959 the first volume of each of three such projects appeared. One of them, a volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, has already been announced. The publication of the first volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, covering the years 1706-

1734, was observed on November 22, 1959, by a ceremony in the Sterling Memorial Library in New Haven, Connecticut. The *Franklin Papers* are expected to be published over a period of fifteen years and to run to forty volumes. On December 6, 1959, the publication of Volume I of *The Papers of Henry Clay* was marked by a ceremony at Clay's home, "Ashland," in Lexington, Kentucky. The *Clay Papers* are expected to fill ten volumes.

Leon deValinger, Jr., State Archivist of Delaware, heads a project to edit and publish a comprehensive edition of the letters of John Dickinson, statesman of the revolutionary and early national periods. This project is officially sponsored by the Public Archives Commission of the State of Delaware and the Friends of John Dickinson Mansion, Inc. Mr. deValinger welcomes information about the location of any letters or other papers by Dickinson and any communications addressed to him. At its meeting on March 14, 1960, the National Historical Publications Commission adopted a resolution recommending that the national Civil War Centennial Commission and associated state commissions promote an extensive program of publishing historical documents, including the papers of both civil and military leaders and other papers important for an understanding of the Civil War period. The Commission specifically mentioned the papers of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee.

A portrait of Solon J. Buck, painted by Bjørn Egli, was unveiled in the National Archives Conference Room on April 8, 1960. The portrait was commissioned by his friends and former colleagues and presented on their behalf by Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hamer, chairman of the fund raising committee. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, accepted the portrait on behalf of the government. Theodore C. Blegen, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, discussed Dr. Buck's early career, and Ernst Posner, former Dean of the Graduate School, American University, spoke of Dr. Buck as Archivist of the United States and Assistant Librarian of Congress. Dr. Buck was treasurer of the American Historical Association for twenty years.

The Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Philadelphia, has issued the following report of its holdings. The Longwood Manuscripts, a collection exceeding half a million items of personal and business papers of various members of the Du Pont family, 1780-1954, are grouped in the following categories: the Du Pont Family Papers, 1780-1906 (thirty thousand items); acquisitions of Pierre S. du Pont (1870-1954), gifts and purchases, chiefly during the period 1914-1954, including papers of Du Pont de Nemours, E. I. du Pont, and other members of the family (about five hundred items); the papers of Pierre Samuel du Pont (1870-1954), manufacturer, financier, and philanthropist, covering the period 1893-1954 (approximately 500,000 items). The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Collection of Manuscripts, a gift of Mr. H. F. du Pont of Winterthur, Delaware (about 150,000 items) contains personal and business papers of various members of the Du Pont family, 1588-1926. Among the additional manuscripts in the Library are the Eleuthera Bradford du Pont Collection, 1799-1834 (1,835 items), including a number of the most important early records of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.; papers (restricted) of Lukens Steel Co. of Coatesville, Pennsylvania, ca. 1799-1895; papers of the Northern Liberties Gas Co. of Philadelphia; Collection of

Belin-d'Andelot Family Papers, sixteenth to twentieth century (restricted); facsimiles of selected materials relating to Du Pont de Nemours and Victor du Pont obtained from French repositories; miscellaneous papers of Du Pont de Nemours, E. I. du Pont, Rear Admiral and Mrs. Samuel Francis du Pont, and other members of the family; and mercantile and business records of activity in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Chester County, Pennsylvania, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held, as previously announced, in Stockholm, August 21-28. Many American historians have indicated that they will attend. A full report of the Congress will appear in a later issue of the *Review*.

American Council of Learned Societies travel grants for international conferences may be available through 1962. Historians should now inform Association headquarters of international meetings that may be of concern to them during the next two years.

The Tenth International Congress of the History of Science will be held in the United States, August 2-September 2, 1962. Opening sessions of the Congress will be at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, concluding ones at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. All inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Tenth International Congress of the History of Science, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA.

### GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

Among those receiving the sixty-one grants of the American Council of Learned Societies for research in the humanities and related social sciences for 1960-1961, the following were historians: *Fellowships*—Rowland T. Berthoff, Robert J. Brentano, Norman F. Cantor, Giles Constable, Richard C. Dales, Deno J. Geanakoplos, Robert M. Kingdon, Arno J. Mayer, Alison G. Olson, Martin Ridge, and Lewis W. Spitz. *Grants-in-Aid*—William M. Bowsky, Olive J. Brose, Rushton Coulborn, George Fischer, Ralph E. Giesey, Jurgen F. H. Herbst, Robert A. Kann, Philip W. Powell, Robert V. Remini, John L. Snell, Jr., Gerald Strauss, and Louis V. Zabkar.

The American Council of Learned Societies announces that it will offer in 1960-1961 two general postdoctoral grant programs: Fellowships, with stipends in amounts up to seven thousand dollars, intended primarily for the provision of free time, for scholars who will engage in research in the humanities; and Grants-in-Aid, in amounts up to two thousand dollars, to provide funds in support of humanistic research. In addition to the general programs there will be grants for research on several areas, offered under the auspices of joint committees of the ACLS and the Social Science Research Council. Candidates for these grants must also have the doctorate or its equivalent. Two of these programs, for research on Asia and for Slavic and East European studies, will be administered by the ACLS; two, for research on Latin America and on the Near and Middle East, will be

administered by the SSRC. Candidates for Fellowships must not be over forty-five years of age at the deadline date. There are no age limits for the other programs. Inquiries concerning all grants should be addressed to ACLS headquarters, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

The following historians were among those scholars given Social Science Research Council grants: *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Paul J. Alexander, Robert S. Hoyt, Gabriel Jackson, Robert A. Kann, David S. Landes, Arno J. Mayer, John J. Murray, Irene D. Neu, Fritz Stern, James H. Young. *Grants-in-Aid*—Keith B. Berwick, Gilbert C. Fite, Jack P. Greene, Francis G. James, Arthur J. Marder, James M. Smith, Clark C. Spence. *Grants for Research on National Security Policy*—Robin D. S. Winks.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have announced the following joint awards: *Slavic and East European Studies*—Gustave Alef, David Djaparidze, Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, Charles Jelavich, Howard Kaminsky, Alexander Lipski, Arthur P. Mendel, Richard E. Pipes, Serge A. Zenkovsky. *Near and Middle East*—Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, Laurence Evans, John B. Kelly. *Asian Studies*—Hyman Kublin, S. Y. Teng, Robert Van Niel.

The 1960 Bancroft Prizes were awarded to R. R. Palmer for *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800*, and to Margaret Leech for *In the Days of McKinley*. Two annual awards of three thousand dollars each are given to the authors of the best works in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy, or American international relations. Communications regarding the 1961 prizes, which will be for books published in 1960, may be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Of the Woodrow Wilson fellowships for the academic year 1960-1961 over two hundred were awarded for graduate work in history.

The Society of American Historians has awarded Matthew Josephson the 1959 Francis Parkman Prize of five hundred dollars for his book *Edison: A Biography*. This prize is given annually for the book on American history or biography published during the year that has the highest literary distinction, in addition to sound historical scholarship.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences will award in 1960 three prizes of at least one thousand dollars each to the authors of especially meritorious unpublished monographs, one each in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical and biological sciences. For the purposes of these awards a monograph is defined as "a scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized or too short for a general book." Correspondence concerning these awards should be sent to the Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Little Hall 33, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The Inter-University Committee announces that limited funds are again available for grants to colleges and universities in support of college or university faculty specialists on the Soviet Union or East Central Europe for short-term study-related visits in those areas. Awards will be made only for fully trained postdoctoral Canadian or American specialists on the countries to be visited who have a competency in the language of their area. Application should be made by the individual himself. Interested scholars should apply as soon as possible to the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, 409 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Labor History*, a new scholarly journal, is being published by Tamiment Institute, under the supervision of an editorial board of which Richard Morris is chairman.

The following External Research series publications have recently been issued by the Department of State: no. 1.13, *USSR and Eastern Europe*; no. 2.13, *East Asia*; no. 3.13, *Southeast Asia*; no. 4.13, *South Asia*; no. 5.13, *Western Europe*; no. 6.13, *Middle East*; no. 7.13, *Africa*; no. 8.13, *American Republics*; no. 9.13, *British Commonwealth*; no. 10.13, *International Affairs*.

#### OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The spring meeting of the Upper Midwest History Conference was held at Augsburg College, Minneapolis, April 9, 1960. Dean J. Huntley Dupre of Macalester College, St. Paul, presented a paper entitled "Constantine Rafinesque at Transylvania University, 1819-1826."

The Conference on British Studies met April 12, 1960, at New York University. The chief speaker was Professor J. H. Plumb of Cambridge University who presented a paper on "The Growth of the Oligarchy, 1689-1715." In November 1960 the Conference will award its first triennial prize of three hundred dollars for the best book in English or Commonwealth history published in the last two years by an American or Canadian scholar. Inquiries should be addressed to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington 3, D. C.

At its annual meeting, held in Louisville, Kentucky, April 28-30, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association elected Fletcher Green of the University of North Carolina, President; Paul Gates of Cornell University, Vice-President; Paul Angle of the Chicago Historical Society, Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, and Edward Younger of the University of Virginia to its Executive Committee. W. D. Aeschbacher of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Secretary-Treasurer, and William C. Binkley of Tulane University, Managing Editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, continue in office. About eight hundred historians attended the lively meeting. The Association will hold its 1961 meeting in Detroit, April 20-22, at the Pick-Fort Shelby Hotel and in 1962 will meet in Milwaukee.

Colonial Williamsburg, assisted by the Leverhulme Trust, is sponsoring a conference of historians from England, Canada, and the United States on the general topic "Perspectives on the American Revolutionary Era" in September 1960. The purpose of the symposium is to examine and clarify historical interpretations of the American Revolution's impact on the three countries during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The American Studies Association is sponsoring a Conference on the Historical Study of American Culture through a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. It will take place October 13-15, 1960, at Arden House, Harri-man, New York. Charles Barker is chairman of the Conference Committee, serving with Merle Curti, Ray Billington, Howard Mumford Jones, and Edward Lurie, who is secretary of the Conference. Particular attention will be devoted to the methods and purposes of intellectual history and other approaches to national cultural development in an effort to clarify and evaluate the position of American studies and intellectual history as academic enterprises.

A group of former students and friends of the late Donald Cope McKay are raising a fund to endow a memorial to him. The committee plans to create the Donald Cope McKay Publication Fund to finance the publication of scholarly books in modern French and Italian history. Checks should be made payable to the Donald Cope McKay Memorial Fund and sent to John C. Hunter, 6 Hazel Terrace, Arlington 74, Massachusetts.

The Council on Higher Education has issued a report on "Inter-American Scholarly Communication in the Humanities and the Social Sciences." The report, which summarizes the discussions and recommendations of the first meeting of the Conference on Higher Education in the American Republics, held in Mexico City in February 1958, may be obtained from Kenneth Holland, Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

Western Reserve University sponsored the ninth Conference of Early American History on March 25-26. The theme of the meeting was "Some Contemporary Trends in Early American History."

## PERSONAL

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES<sup>1</sup>

*Augustana College* (Rock Island, Illinois): James I. Dowie promoted to associate professor; Ben Zobrist appointed associate professor; Henry F. Staack has retired after thirty-three years at the college; Charlotte Erickson Watt appointed guest lecturer for 1960-61 to replace O. F. Ander who is on leave. *University of California* (Berkeley): Kenneth Stampp named Harmsworth Professor, Oxford University, 1961-62. *Central Michigan University* (Mount Pleasant): William T. Bulger, Jr., George M. Blackburn, and William E. Franklin appointed assistant

<sup>1</sup> The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.



professor. *Cornell University*: Clinton Rossiter named John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions and will serve as Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University in 1960-61. *Denison University*: Wyndham Southgate named head of the department; David Watson and William Preston promoted to associate professor; John Huckaby appointed assistant professor, Burton Dow and Edward Todd, instructor. *Emory University*: Franklin H. Littell named chairman of the Area of Church History and Theology in the Candler School of Theology. *Forest History Society* (St. Paul, Minnesota): George T. Morgan, Jr., appointed research associate. *Gettysburg College*: Charles H. Glatfelter named assistant dean. *Hunter College*: Louis Hallgring, Jr., and Douglas H. Maynard promoted to associate professor. *Lewis and Clark College*: Arthur L. Throckmorton promoted to professor, Richard C. Dales and Joachim Remak, to associate professor; Nosaralltalas Rassekh appointed assistant professor. *New York Institute of Technology*: Lawrence L. Barrell named dean of administration. *Niagara University*: Joseph T. Cahill, C.M., named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and academic vice-president; Daniel W. McGuire promoted to professor, Bernard D. Williams, to assistant professor; Joseph P. Ganley, C.M., appointed assistant professor. *North Carolina State College*: Martha Stennis Stoops, Thomas Kenneth Lagow, and Boyd Howard Hill, Jr., appointed instructor.

*Oberlin College*: Geoffrey T. Blodgett and Robert E. Neil appointed instructor. *Ohio Wesleyan University*: C. E. Van Sickle appointed professor emeritus; David Jennings promoted to professor and named chairman of the department; Richard W. Smith promoted to associate professor. *University of Oklahoma*: Brison D. Gooch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology appointed to the staff. *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*: Mary R. Dearing of George Washington University appointed visiting associate professor during the sabbatical of Robert D. Meade. *University of Rhode Island*: Donald Tilton and William D. Metz promoted to professor; Daniel H. Thomas on leave in 1960-61. *Rockefeller Foundation*: Kenneth W. Thompson named director for the social sciences. *Sarah Lawrence College*: Paul Langdon Ward named president. *Simpson College* (Indianola, Iowa): Byron C. Lambert of Milligan College named academic dean. *Smith College*: Nelly Schargo Hoyt promoted to associate professor; Stanley M. Elkins and Peter d'A. Jones appointed assistant professor, Anna Maria Herbert, instructor; Hugh Stretton of the University of Adelaide and Peter Brock of the University of Alberta appointed visiting lecturer. *Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College*: John T. Duncan promoted to associate professor; Allan C. Ashcraft and Sidney I. Roberts appointed assistant professor. *Texas Woman's University*: Walter Rundell, Jr., promoted to assistant professor. *University of Washington*: Solomon Katz named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. *Wells College*: Julius W. Pratt appointed Robert W. Campbell Visiting Professor for 1960-61. *Western Carolina College* (Cullowhee, North Carolina): William S. Hoffmann appointed to the staff. *Williams College*: Robert G. L. Waite appointed Brown Professor of History; Russell H. Bastert promoted to associate professor; Milton Cantor appointed lecturer.

## RECENT DEATHS

Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, John Stambaugh Professor of History Emeritus at Cornell University, died in Ithaca, New York, on December 10, 1959. He had retired from his active professorship in June 1958. Professor Laistner was born in London and educated at Merchant Taylors School and Cambridge University. Cambridge awarded him the bachelor's degree and appointed him Cravan student in his early years; in 1944 the university awarded him the degree Litt. D. He became an honorary fellow of his old college at Cambridge, Jesus College.

He began his teaching career as assistant lecturer in classics at Birmingham University and went in turn to Queen's University, Belfast, and to Manchester University before he became assistant professor of classics at London University in 1921. In 1925 he became professor of ancient history at Cornell University and remained there throughout the rest of his career, succeeding to the John Stambaugh Professorship of History in 1940 on the retirement of Carl Becker.

Professor Laistner was one of the world's leading scholars in the fields of ancient and early medieval history and, during a busy and fruitful academic life, wrote six major works and as many lesser ones, as well as two score articles. Of his books the best-known are *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900*, *Bedae Venerabilis Expositio Actuum et Retractatio*, *The Greater Roman Historians*, and *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire*.

He was a man of rich and exact knowledge, a tireless scholar whose intellectual interests reached into many fields, including European literature, the history of music, and modern British history and biography. He was an excellent teacher and a steady, warmhearted colleague. He served as a member of the Board of Editors of this *Review* from 1942 to 1947. In 1957 some of Professor Laistner's students and friends published in his honor a collection of his essays entitled *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages*, for which Professor Chester G. Starr wrote an appreciative introduction.

Howard Kennedy Beale died at Madison, Wisconsin, on December 27, 1959, while making preparations to attend the meeting of the Association in Chicago the following day. A warning stroke several months earlier had not persuaded him to curb appreciably the active life he normally led, a life dedicated to teaching and scholarship. Born in Chicago on April 8, 1899, he took his undergraduate training at the University of Chicago and his graduate work at Harvard, where he received the Ph.D. degree in 1927. After teaching for brief periods at Grinnell and Bowdoin, he accepted a professorship in history at the University of North Carolina and remained there from 1935 to 1948. In the latter year he joined the University of Wisconsin history department, an appointment he held until his death.

A man of many historical interests, he began his research on the period of Reconstruction and made his major contribution to that field in a revisionary work, *The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (1930). For many years he conducted exhaustive researches on Theodore Roosevelt with a view to writing a thorough biography, a task he did not live to complete. His major publication on this subject grew out of his Albert Shaw Lectures at the

Johns Hopkins University in 1953; it was published as *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (1956). Stimulating books and studies also resulted from his interest in the theory of history and in freedom of teaching.

Professor Beale combined his concern for academic freedom with a crusading interest in religious freedom, racial democracy, civil liberties, and international peace. He sustained these values in all circles and all circumstances. His many students, as well as his books, testify to his unsparing devotion to the exacting obligations of a teacher and to the highest standards of historical scholarship.

Bertha Haven Putnam, medieval scholar and author, died February 26, 1960, at the age of eighty-seven. She was professor emeritus at Mount Holyoke College, where she had taught for twenty-nine years before retiring in 1937. Her most recent book is *The Place in Legal History of Sir William Sharehull, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1349-1359* (1950).

Sir Ernest Barker, eminent British scholar and former Cambridge University political science professor, died in London in February 1960. His books include *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, and *The European Inheritance*.

Chester Wells Clark died March 13 at the age of sixty-four. Dr. Clark received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Michigan and his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University. He studied at the University of Berlin and in 1934 published *Franz Joseph and Bismarck: The Diplomacy of Austria before the War of 1866*. Pursuing his investigation of Bismarck's manipulation of public opinion, he published a number of articles in historical journals, including the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of Modern History*. Before going to the State University of Iowa, where he pioneered in directing studies in Russian affairs, he taught at the University of Michigan and Princeton University. From 1949 until his death he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency. Dr. Clark not only made a contribution to national security; his former graduate students are now teaching and directing research in American colleges and universities.

Caroline L. Sparrow, retired professor of history at Sweet Briar College, died in Richmond, Virginia, March 30.

Elmer H. Cutts, chairman of the history department of Northeastern University, died April 4 in Arlington, Massachusetts, at the age of fifty-two.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Sabine's unfortunate review of Caroline Robbins' *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (AHR, LXV [Jan. 1960], 365-67) exhibits Homer with a bad case of the nods. In his brilliantly written *History of Political Theory* in the chapter on seventeenth-century English republicans—Harrington, Milton, Sidney—Sabine in 1937 admitted their "importance is not easy to sum up." Now when Miss Robbins writes the book that does reach very significant conclusions about this republican group, and adds the totals up for Sabine and all of us to

ponder, the reviewer misreads her figures and implies that the sum was hardly worth doing.

Actually, Sabine discusses only one of Miss Robbins' three significant conclusions about those eighteenth-century Whigs, who, dissatisfied with 1688 as an "unfinished Revolution," kept alive the doctrines of Harrington, Milton, and Sidney into the reign of George III. A marginal group in England, their ideas and programs proved completely ineffectual in "reforming" English politics. In Sabine's words, "Their achievement consisted wholly in preserving and transmitting a tradition." And then, wittily, he suggests that their only significant "monument" is the Thomason collection of seventeenth-century tracts which, preserved in the British Museum through their efforts, and thus "transmitted" to sound modern scholars—Gardiner, Firth, Wedgwood, Haller, *et al.*—made it easy to prove that the commonwealthmen's interpretation of the Puritan Revolution was bad history and confused constitutional theory.

Since Miss Robbins' Whigs made no history in their own day, why bother, Sabine asks, to exhume these forgotten men and their lost writings? The ideas they discussed and "transmitted" were not original with them; indeed, they were "old even at the time of the Civil War." And the most important of their ideas—the right to resist tyranny, government by consent, the necessity for free inquiry in religion and politics—had been stated more trenchantly and had been better "preserved" by other greater theorists who have never been forgotten and who are discussed at length in Sabine's book—Plato, Montesquieu, Hume, Burke. To thrust home his point that Miss Robbins' commonwealthmen (such as Molesworth, Gordon, Burgh) neither created an idea nor preserved a single one in danger of being lost, Sabine produces a fascinating metaphor: "It looks as if Whig or Tory could have dredged up the ideas from a common pool if they had needed them."

The point of Miss Robbins' research—the point, I have been told, of any historical research worthy of the name—is not to write about "what *could* have happened" or even "what *should* have happened," but to determine as nearly as possible what in fact did happen.

Sabine's image of political ideas as pebbles (precious, semiprecious, and worthless!) at the bottom of an enormous pond where a Plato-diamond and a Sidney-shale lie equally available to every dredger is whimsical "could-have-happened" history. His image apparently distracted him from even noticing other of Miss Robbins' conclusions about where and to whom the commonwealthman tradition had in fact been transmitted by the 1770's: the British colonies in North America and the Scottish universities. Here on the geographic margins of Great Britain the marginal ideas which were politically ineffectual in London helped to produce consequences and "monuments" which are of living significance today.

In 1937 Sabine noted a fact that every modern reader who picks up Algernon Sidney's *Discourses* soon discovers for himself: it is almost unreadable stuff. And Sabine publicly wondered then how Jefferson, a man of taste and intelligence, had stumbled on this boring verbiage, why he thought so highly of it, and why he forced students at his university to read it. Jefferson perhaps could have fished the Sabine pool for Plato, Hume, or Burke and thrown Sidney back. But no, Jefferson in fact tells his friends not to read Plato, Hume, and Burke and praises the incredible Sidney book. Thomas Paine, no doubt, could have quoted Montesquieu and stayed neatly in the great tradition of the one hundred best books, but contemporaries, in fact, charged him in 1776 with plagiarizing James Burgh (another of Miss Robbins' forgotten Whigs) when he wrote *Common Sense*. Clinton

Rossiter started with the Sabine assumptions when he read through every surviving copy of American newspapers printed before 1776, expecting to find Locke the most revered political authority, but no, it was in fact "*Cato's Letters* rather than Locke's *Civil Government* that was the most popular, quotable, esteemed source of political ideas in the colonial period." Who wrote *Cato's Letters*? Why, those forgotten and ineffectual commonwealthmen, Gordon and Trenchard, whose biographies and bibliographies are analyzed for the first time in a scholarly fashion by Miss Robbins.

The "American" readers of 1776 did not have available an indigenous "American republican tradition" to appeal to in their need against George III. Perhaps, stupidly, they did not choose to use Machiavelli, Hume, Plato, or other famous names of Sabine's "great tradition." They did use this live marginal English tradition which, already recessive in the mother country, was the dominant tradition in British America before and after 1776. Obviously, this American sequel is a story that Miss Robbins does not tell in her book, which merely shows in explicit and dense detail that this radical Whig tradition was in fact "preserved and transmitted" to the Americans—how Jefferson came to know and value Sidney! Surely the American state constitutions after 1776 and our national constitution of 1787 are to some extent "monuments" to these obscure and forgotten British Whigs, as worthy for a reviewer to mention as the Thomason tracts.

Sabine likewise ignores Miss Robbins' fascinating account of the transmission, preservation, and transformation of the commonwealth tradition in the Scottish universities following 1740. It was in these schools, which had been intellectual bone yards during most of the seventeenth century, that the Scottish intellect flowered during the eighteenth century in distinguished works of erudition, especially in the social sciences. In this connection Miss Robbins offers evidence to show an analogous situation to one commented on by Sabine in his *History of Political Theory*. Sabine in 1937, while repudiating the Marxist dogma of "economic determinism," nevertheless believed that "the idea of economic causation was probably the most fertile suggestion added to the social sciences in the nineteenth century."

On Miss Robbins' evidence it would appear that Harrington's *Oceana* functioned in somewhat the same way as the Marxist theory in vitalizing Scottish moral and political philosophy from the era of Francis Hutcheson's professorship. While eighteenth-century Oxford dons and most English theorists were quite content to let Harrington lie forgotten and unread "at the bottom of the pool," the Scots professors (for reasons which Miss Robbins suggests) almost worshipped his memory and used the Harrington thesis—that government in its structure and function is determined by underlying social and economic forces—to inform every field of inquiry, but most notably in history, sociology, economics, and political psychology.

It would seem, then, that the forgotten Whigs who preserved and transmitted this reverence for Harrington and his seminal idea have a monument of sorts in the Scotch enlightenment's "science of man and society," the embryonic beginnings of our modern academic disciplines. But again this is not Miss Robbins' theme. She has merely made it possible for whoever will undertake to write the history of the development of British social science to start in the eighteenth century with a sound genealogy of the key doctrines and the most fertile ideas.

I apologize for the length of this comment. It is, however, due Miss Robbins as a serious scholar who has written an important and original book to have all of her significant conclusions at least noticed. Especially since neither her book's title



nor its topic—English history—automatically alerts students of American history to the fact that this volume and Robert Palmer's were probably the two most important books on the American Revolution and the United States Constitution published in 1959.

*Claremont Graduate School*

DOUGLASS ADAIR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret that Professor Adair should have concluded that the intention of my review was to slight Miss Robbins' book or to imply that "it was hardly worth doing." This was not what I intended, and after reading Adair's letter I do not see that what I wrote is open to that interpretation. What I said was that "the plan of her book seems to present certain difficulties." The difficulty that I had in mind was twofold. First, I supposed that the words "kept alive political ideas," used by Miss Robbins and repeated by Adair, implied a presumption that the ideas in question might otherwise have been forgotten. This still seems to me a normal meaning of the expression. Since the ideas in question were both very general and deeply settled in the tradition of political thought—like the right to resist tyranny, freedom of thought, religion, and inquiry, separation of powers—it seemed to me altogether unlikely that they could have been forgotten between 1690 and 1776. I still think so. Second, Miss Robbins describes as "immensely significant" the fact that "the most fertile ideas in politics," including some of those mentioned, occurred in Scotland and Ireland, and in conservative writers like Hume and Swift, who presumably did not borrow them from the common-wealthmen. The "significance" of this fact seemed to me to be that the ideas were readily available to anyone who wanted to use them and that they were used in Scotland and Ireland because there, as in America later, they ceased to be abstract ideas and became relevant to concrete situations. These two points I tried to summarize in the metaphor so offensive to Adair, that either "Whig or Tory could have dredged up the ideas from a common pool" if they had needed them. I still fail to see that the figure of speech implies a preference for "whimsical 'could-have-been' history," and I still believe that Miss Robbins' book is important because of the excellence of her research and because it gives an account of men who have become undeservedly obscure, as I said.

For this reason Adair's insistence that Jefferson did in fact admire Algernon Sidney or that the Scots "worshipped" Harrington seems to me less relevant to the transmission of a tradition than it seems to him. It is probably true that there is a real difference of interest between us. The difference, I fancy, may be normal between a person primarily trained in philosophy and one trained in history. The former, perhaps, is inclined to put more emphasis on originality, on how an idea gets into the tradition; he may tend to think of an intellectual tradition as having a kind of substantiality of its own, which can be misleading, since an idea has no existence unless someone thinks it. A historian may be more interested in the sheer fact that at some time someone does actually use an idea, which may be misleading too, since he may not have got the idea from the last man before him who used it. Perhaps this difference of interest is the reason why I think that Sidney's book is a bore even if Jefferson did not find it so; or why I think economic explanation is interesting, though I see no presumption that Madison's tenth Federalist paper, for example, picked it up from an immediate Scottish antecedent. I do not think, however, that a philosophical interest in the originality of an idea implies a wish to escape the obligation to write history as it "in fact did



happen." Indeed, unless Adair's expression, "the forgotten Whigs who preserved and transmitted this reverence for Harrington," means that the Americans did in fact learn about Harrington from the forgotten Whigs, it seems to me as hypothetical as saying that they might have read Harrington, as many of them certainly did. And I fail to see that his metaphors about "embryonic beginnings" and "genealogy of key doctrines" are obviously superior to my metaphor about a "common pool." There may be a difference of principle between Adair and me, if he supposes that Ranke's injunction to write history *wie es eigentlich gewesen* meant that historians are not allowed to use the subjunctive mood. On that logical question I can say only that I know no historian who avoided it.

Cornell University

GEORGE H. SABINE

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

This editor occasionally hears that the reviews in the *AHR* are "too favorable." This may or may not be true. The reviews are those historians write. Critical reviews are published. There is no attempt on the part of the *Review* to influence the point of view of reviewers concerning the quality of books. Each reviewer is asked to evaluate a book for the information of a potential reader or purchaser. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. The *Review* asks only that sympathy or difference of opinion not interfere with strict, straightforward, and courteous judgment. A list of over two thousand potential reviewers is filed in the *Review* office, and work of over five hundred reviewers appears each year. The first quality sought in a reviewer is scholarly knowledge of the field of a book, evidenced preferably by research and publication in the field. If a scholar is known to have had any connection with the preparation of a book, he is not asked to review it. A scholar is never asked to review a book because he is a friend of the author, though personal animosity toward an author may be reason for non-selection. Only serious works of history are reviewed, works that make a contribution in fact or interpretation. Many books that historians would not consider favorably are therefore not reviewed.

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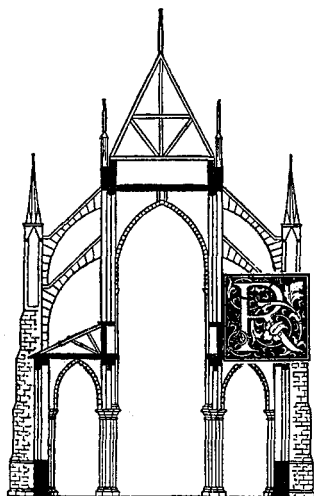
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